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The Poetry of Shāh Ismā'il I

By V. MINORSKY

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I. INTRODUCTION

MY interest in Shāh Ismā'il's poetry was aroused thirty-six years ago, when from my Ahl-i Ḥaqq friends I learnt that the *Khatā'ī* mentioned in one of their hymns was no less a person than the founder of the Ṣafavi dynasty¹: *Khatā'ī-dā nāṭiq oldī, Tūrkistanīn pīri oldī* " (Godhead) came to speech in the person of Khatā'ī, (who) became the pīr of the Turks (of Āzarbāyjān) ", according to the explanation given to me.

For some time I suspected the Ahl-i Ḥaqq doctrines to be identical with the arcana of the Safavids, but later came to the conclusion that the home of the former was in Kurdistan, in the region of Sulaymānī, and that only by a kind of alliance were they related to the Ṣafavi propaganda.

It was only in 1920, in Paris, that I could carefully study a copy of Khatā'ī's *ḍivān* (Bibliothèque Nationale, sup. turc 1307). This time my attention was attracted by the autobiographical hints of the crowned poet and by the dialectic peculiarities of his Turkish poems. I read a paper on Shāh Ismā'il's poems before the Société Asiatique (9th December, 1921), and started on the preparation of a selection from Khatā'ī's *ḍivān*. My work was several times interrupted. Meanwhile, the problems of the rise of the Safavids occupied my mind, and I came to look upon the *ḍivān* as an historical document characteristic of the strivings of the age.

In view of its manifold interest, the *ḍivān* should be published in

¹ See my *Matériaux pour servir à l'étude . . . des Ahl-i Ḥaqq* (in Russian), Moscow, 1911, pp. 80, 108-110; also my *Notes sur les Ahl-i-Haqq*, Paris, 1922, p. 21, and my article "Khatā'ī" in *Enc. of Islām*.

its entirety ; but even a proper collation of the manuscripts is impossible in the present state of the world : *jahān dar-ham oftāde chūn mū-ye Zangī* ! I can only sum up some results of my protracted but desultory research in the hope that my article may serve as a stepping stone to some younger scholar living in happier times.

“ It is a remarkable fact that while Sultān Selīm and Shāh Ismā‘īl both possessed poetic talents, the former wrote almost exclusively in Persian, and the latter, under the pen-name of Khaṭā‘ī, almost exclusively in Turkish.”¹

The spectacle of the Ottoman sultan, who led his victorious army to Tabriz, becoming a victim of Persian refinement is certainly astonishing, but its significance is somewhat limited : it points only to the prestige of a brilliant tradition among the upper classes of a nation which had not yet found its own literary way. The preference shown by the founder of the Safavid dynasty for a Turkish dialect, which as an instrument of poetical expression stood no comparison with the melodious, easy-flowing, and highly polished Persian, has much deeper roots. As a poet, Selīm appeals to the inner circle of his intimates. Ismā‘īl has in view a much larger auditory of his supporters. The Sultan plays with words for his own amusement, and no one will take seriously the master of a well-stocked harem when he laments : “ Oh, sultan of the moon-faced, you have killed this dervish.”² The Shāh’s poetry also abounds in commonplaces, but it has personal elements as well, teems with queer religious ideas, and its ostensible purpose is to rally a party round a definite programme.

Founders of esoteric sects are fond of special dialects and symbols intelligible only to their immediate milieu. Faḍlullāh the Ḥurūfī wrote in the dialect of Astarābād ; the hymns of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq are in Gūrānī, the Bābis used a mass of cryptic and conventional terms. Shāh Ismā‘īl’s ancestors often had recourse to the Iranian patois of the neighbourhood of Ardabil.³ Gradually the Safavid influence spread among the Turcoman tribes of Āzarbaijān, and especially of Armenia, Northern Syria, and Asia Minor. The sedentary population of Persia

¹ E. G. Browne, *A Hist. of Pers. Lit. in Modern Times*, 1924, p. 12.

² See the *Divān* edited by P. Horn, Berlin, 1904 (most beautifully printed but not very successfully decorated), and P. Horn, “ Der Dichter Sultān Selīm I,” *ZDMG.*, lx, 1906, pp. 97–111. Horn does not go beyond saying that Selīm is “ a complete master of the poetical technique ”.

³ The specimens occurring in the *Silsilat al-nasab* have been studied by Kasravi in his *Ādharī*, 1304/1926. B. Miller sought to prove the connection of this dialect with Tālīshī ; see *K voprosu ob yazīke naseleniya Azerbayana*, in *Ucheniya Zapiski*, I, 199–228.

was still attached to the Sunna,¹ and its conversion to the new Shī'a doctrines could be envisaged only with the help of the supporters of the first hour. Shāh Ismā'īl, even though he must have been bi-lingual² from birth, was not writing for his own heart's delight. He had to address his adherents in a language fully intelligible to them, and thus the choice of the Turcoman Turkish became a necessity for him.³

Shāh Ismā'īl's son Sām-mīrzā states that his father wrote also in Persian, and as a sample quotes one single verse. Some traces of Persian poetry are found in one Paris MS. ; but with this exception, all the known copies of Khatā'ī's *divan* are entirely in Turkish.⁴

II. MANUSCRIPTS

The MSS. of Khatā'ī's *dīvān* are not very numerous, and vary considerably in their contents, single verses, and spellings. Those of which I possess knowledge are as follows⁵ :—

P 1. Bibl. Nat., supp. turc 1307, 83 folios, contains 253 ghazals and three mathnavis : *Fil-munājāt* (24 distichs), another mathnavi beginning : *qadīm-i dhāt-i bī-mīthl-u-baqā dur* (18 distichs) and a heroic mathnavi (60 distichs in *mutaqārib*). The MS. was completed in 948/1541, only eighteen years after Shāh Ismā'īl's death. It must form the basis of any future critical edition as giving a number of very outspoken poems and verses which the other scribes preferred to omit. Cf. Blochet, *Cat. des Mss. turcs*, ii, 229.

P 2. Bib. Nat., supp. turc 995 (formerly in Schefer Collection), 64 folios, contains in Turkish : 205 ghazals, 9 quatrains, 2 mathnavis (of which one is the *Naṣīhat-nāma*, beginning : *sighīn faḍl-i haqqa, āy ṭālib-i rāh*), and in Persian : one ghazal and a few verses. According to Blochet, op. cit., ii, 123, the MS. was completed in the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D. The MS. may have been copied from the same original as TZ.

¹ See *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 77 : " In Tabriz most of the inhabitants are Sunnis of the Shāfi'ite sect."

² The admixture of Chaghatay forms in Ismā'īl's poetry would indicate that he did not feel any one definite dialect as his own, but this admixture must have a purely literary origin (influence of Chaghatay *dīvāns*).

³ I discuss the role of the Turcoman tribes under the Safavids in my book, *A Manual of Safavid Administration* (now being printed).

⁴ *Tuhfa-yi Sāmī* (957/1550), Tehran 1314/1935, pp. 6-9. 'Alī-Qulī Vālih, in his *Riyāḍ al-shu'arā* (1169/1756), speaks of a Turkish, and a Persian *divan* by Khatā'ī. He quotes in Persian three verses and an inscription on Ismā'īl's signet-ring ; see MSS. 57, f. 167v, and 230, f. 171, of the R.A.S. Bengal. I owe this reference to my friend, L. F. Bogdanov-Dugin (Calcutta). The legend of the signet-ring is : *buvad mīhr-i 'Alīyy-o āl-i ū chūn jān marā dar bar||ghulām -i shāh -i mardānast Ismā'īl bīn Haydar*.

⁵ Cf. my article " Khatā'ī " in *EI*.

L. British Museum, Or. 3380, contains the *Naṣīhat-nāma* (168 bayts), the mathnavi beginning: *qadīm-i dhāt*, and the ghazals (ff. 106–83). According to Rieu's *Cat. Turk. MSS.*, pp. 205–6, the MS. is “apparently of the sixteenth century”.

TZ. The MS. presented to me by my friend S. H. Taqizadeh, 80 folios, contains 223 ghazals, 9 quatrains, and the *Naṣīhat-nāma* (167 distichs). Dated 17 Rabī' ii 1245/16th October, 1829, but copied from a MS. presented to the Ardabil sanctuary in 1022/1613 and bearing the seal of Shāh 'Abbās I.

LEN. Leningrad, Oriental Museum of the Academy of Sciences, Or. 297, 75 fols. According to the notes communicated to me in 1923 by my late friend Yuri Marr, it contains the introductory praises to God, 'Ali, etc. (ff. 1–16), and a longish allegory in the form of a mathnavi *Āshiq-va-ma'shūq*, in ten *nāmas* (f. 16–75). Dated 1036/1626.

B. Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Or. fol. 209, ff. 386a–419b, contains only a selection of 34 ghazals (204 bayts). Dated 1077/1666. Cf. Pertsch, iv, *Pers. Hand. Berlin*, p. 63, No. 18, ii, 4. I personally consulted the MS. in 1922.

VAT. Vatican, turc. 221, of which I could examine only one page in the show-case at the exhibition arranged for the members of the XIXth Congress of Orientalists in 1935.

IS. A MS. belonging to the collection of 'Ali Emīrī Efendi (according to Babinger, *Der Islam*, xii, 1922, 233, in the Umumiye Library). Date unknown. Yūsuf-beg Vezirof, *Adharbayjān adabiyatına bir nazar*, Istanbul, 1337, pp. 27–31, quotes 6 ghazals apparently from this MS.

TS. On Sām-mīrzā's *Tulfa-yi Sāmī*, v.s., p. 1008a.

Z. Shaykh Ḥusayn Zāhidi, *Silsilat al-nasab-i Safaviya* (circa 1059/1649), Berlin, 1343/1922, pp. 68–72, quotes four poems by Khatā'i glorifying the imāms.

To sum up: the MSS. which claim to contain a complete set of the ghazals are P 1, P 2, L, TZ, and possibly VAT and IS. Of these, the oldest and the most complete is P 1, representing a special tradition. P 2 and TZ go back to the same original, which apparently was presented to the Ardabil Library by Shāh 'Abbās I. As time wore on, many of the extravagances of the early Safavid period looked too far-fetched and the earlier poems of Shāh Ismā'il had to be cut out from his *divān*. On the whole the text of P 2 and TZ reads better, but it has obvious lacunae, and the archaic spellings of P 1 have been simplified and modernized. It is possible that L belongs to the same later tradition. As regards the Mathnavīs, the *Naṣīhat-nāma* appears in P 2, L, and TZ. Of the mathnavi of P 1, two are otherwise unknown, and the third (*qadīm-i dhāt*) is found also in L. The *Āshiq-va-ma'shūq* exists only in LEN. [Is it by Shāh Ismā'il ?]

III. LANGUAGE¹

The language of the *divān* is a Southern Turkish (Turcoman) dialect directly associated with the so-called “Āzarbāyjān Turkish”, as spoken in North-Western Persia and North-Eastern Transcaucasia. Shāh Ismā‘īl still uses a number of words and forms which are unknown in the present-day speech. On the other hand, his Turkish already shows traces of decomposition due to the influence of the Iranian milieu : in Polivanov’s terminology, it is asynharmonic. The Chaghatay elements of the *divān* are very curious, but their purely literary origin, through imitation, is beyond any doubt.

1. PHONETICS

A. VOWELS

(1) The existence in our text of a narrow *e*, as distinguished from *ä* and *i*, must be postulated from the presence of such a sound in modern AT. In writing, both *e* and *i* are expressed by ای or ی, but the following examples can be read only with *e* : ایتمن (193) *etmān* “I do not” ; ایشیکونکی *ešigūni* (230) “thy threshold” (acc.) ; دیکیل *de-gil* (203) “say (then)” ; سیومه *sevmä* (63) “love not” ; کیسیچ *geč* (203) “pass on” ; کیرپوچ *kerpüč* (102) “a brick” ; یی *ye* (83r) “eat” ; یری *yeri* (83r) “march” ; ییک *yeg* (83r) “better”.

(2) Vowel *u* predominates in suffixes (WT. *ü*) :—

(a) In the first syllable of the possessive enclitics of broad stems : جانوم *janum* “my soul” ; عشقونک *ašqum* “thy love”, but, besides *qilijum*, *qilijim* is also found. *U* does not penetrate into the second syllable of these enclitics : جانومیز *janumüz* “our soul”, ša‘rumüz “your shar‘at”. Narrow stems have *-im*, *-imiz* : جدمنی *jiddimni* “my endeavour” (acc.) ; اشکیمدن *äškimdän* “from my tears” ; پیریمیز *pīrimiz*.

(b) In the genitive suffix : حقونک *haqqum* “of the Right”.

(c) In the personal endings of the present and past tenses : باخدوم *baxtum* “I looked” ; ایتدوم *äyittum* (*äyittüm*?) “I said”.

¹ In this chapter the signs *č*, *š*, *x* are used for *ch*, *sh*, *kh*. Abbreviations : AT.—Āzarbāyjān Turkish ; WT.—Western (Ottoman) Turkish ; Deny—J. Deny, *Grammaire de la langue turque*, Paris, 1922.

(d) In verbal formants: اوکرنور *ögränür* “he learns”; yapuşur “it sticks”; yanduran “he who makes burn”.

(e) In *-dur* “is” and *dägül* “is not”.

(f) In adjectives in *-ik*: اکسوک *äksük* “less”; ارتوق *artuq* “more”; açux “open”.

(3) Vocalic harmony is weak: ارلیغینه *ärliginä* “to thy manhood”; اولاجق اوز **öläjäqüz* (194) “we shall die”; بيلمغ *bilmağ* “to know” (AT. *bilmaç*); سوسیزلره *susizlärä* “to the thirsty”, but سوسیزلیغیم *susizliğim*. It must be noted that in many cases *alifs* stand only as *matres lectionis* for *ä* (not for *a* or *ā*): ایچندا *içində* “inside”; گولداکی *gökdäki* “the one in the heavens”; گجälär **gejälär*; ایلاکیل *äylä-qil* “do (then)”; ایلامه *äylämä*; تاکی ایلاسام *tä-ki äyläsäm* “ut faciam”; سیومادوکوم *sevmädügüm* “the one disliked by me”.

(4) There are very few traces of labial vowels affecting the syllables following them (Deny: attraction labiale). The possessive suffix of 3 p.s. is always *-i*: حسنی نونک *hüsnü-nün* “of his beauty”; قولینی *qulünü* “servum suum”; گوزین *gözün* “oculum suum”; یولینده *yolündä* “on his way”. Similarly in the accusative ending یوزونی *yüzümni* “faciem meam”; اغوینی *aguyünü* “venenum suum” (acc.). Also کوندوزین *gündüzün*; سوسیز *susiz*; قورخوسیز *qorxusiz*. In verbal forms: *doğmış, öldü* [on *boldum* and *oxıdum* v.s. 1 A (2)].

(5) Very strange is *ü > i* in دیشده *dişdä* (for *düşdä*) “in sleep”, cf. 17v. Vice versa دوز **düz* (69r) apparently stands for *diz* “a knee”. The possibility of such fluctuation is confirmed by the name of the Caucasian town *Shışhä/Shüşhä*.

B. CONSONANTS

(1) The initial *b* of WT. before a nasal is regularly represented by *m*: *munü* “hunc”; *min* “a thousand”, but exceptionally (203) one finds *bunrun*. There are a few cases of the initial *p*: *pozman* (205).

(2) Initial dental stop is usually voiced¹: *daş, datlu, dağ, düşti*, but exceptionally one finds *tökmäk*, etc.

¹ By analogy we may presume that such is also the case of the initial guttural stop *g* (*k*).

(3) The guttural stop *q* is either maintained or becomes *x(g)*: *qamu* "all" (but 249: *xamu*, cf. AT. *hamu-sī*), *xačan*, *xansī* "which", *xanī* (?) "where", *xanjaru* or *xanjari* "wither", *baq̄p*, but (163) *baḫubān* (?), *axar* "it flows", *axšam* (226) *yūq* (203) but *yūx* (224), *bašmağ* (**bašmax*), *alḫağ* "thus".

(4) The nasal guttural *n* (*sağir nun*) is usually preserved and transcribed -*nk*- (-*ng*-), although this group is felt as a simple consonant, as is clearly indicated by scansion: *āna* "ei", *gulun-am* "I am thy slave", *yamağinun* "of his cheek". However, some traces of denasalization are noticeable: alongside with *ömdän* "from before", one finds *ögimdn* (83r) *ögünjā* (2) *ögünjā* "before him", and these last forms find a confirmation in "ughrinda, davanti" quoted by Pietro della Valle.¹ The slip *qamton* (192) for *qamtonk* "thy stature" is also characteristic of the same tendency.

(5) Among the rare cases of assimilation expressed graphically can be quoted: *tōštīlār?* (95) *tōštīlār?* (WT. *dōšediler*), *girüp-tür* (22) *girüp-tür*.

2. ACCIDENCE

A curious feature of our text is the use of certain southern (Turcoman) forms beside the corresponding eastern (Čağatay) forms. Most probably this indiscriminate practice is to be explained by the literary influence of the Čağatay works produced at the Timurid court of Herat.

A. NOUNS

(1) Stems ending in a consonant, whether simple or provided with the possessive suffix of the 1 and 2 p.s., have double forms in genitive (*un/nun*) and accusative (*i/ni*). Examples of southern forms *amorem tuum* (167) *Deum* "حق گنجونک حقونک", *azdärnüm* (43) *azdärnüm*, *amorem tuum* (230) *amorem tuum* "رخونک امکنی", *amorem tuum* (143) *amorem tuum* "فلکونک", *amorem tuum* (132) *amorem tuum* "بلبلونک", *amorem tuum* (191) *amorem tuum* "سینمی", *amorem tuum* (230) *amorem tuum* "زلفکنی", *amorem tuum* (?) *amorem tuum*.

¹ See E. Rossi, *Atti del XIX° Congresso dei Orientalisti*, p. 207. In his MS. sketch of Turkish, della Valle, without any doubt, describes the dialect spoken at the court of Shāh 'Abbās I.

“hos, eos”, کونکومنی (65) *gönlümni*. These forms occur side by side in the same poems: *Yūnisi, imāmī, Ya‘qūbni* (1); *gönlümi, gönlüni* (66).

(2) Stems ending in a vowel have in the accusative a double form *-ni/-i*, the former still surviving in AT, and the latter being usual in WT. Examples: بندہ نی *bändā-ni* “servum” بربری نی (111) *bir pārini* بوخطائی (105) but ازدهائی (83r) عطائی (80v).

(3) Stems ending in a vowel form the dative regularly: دلخسته یه *dil-xastā-yä*; but the form بندیه may indicate the passage of the final *ä* (which in Persian becomes *e*!) into *i* before the suffix *-yä*, viz. **bändiyä* (instead of the theoretical *bändä-yä*).

(4) Stems accompanied by the possessive suffix of the 3 p.s. usually have the shortened form of the accusative in *-in*: جلونک کونکلین: یار سین *jaräsın* “his wound” (acc.). In locative and ablative the practice is twofold: یولنده (192) *yolindä* (?), but کتیه خطائی چشمیدن *getmä xatā’i čäšmidän*, the latter form being Çağatay.

(5) Apart from the adverb *gündüzin*, the old instrumental case seems to be recognizable in the following verse (79v):—

بوتوحیده باغشلاغیل منی سن
بوتوحیدین اوتوما کیل (sic) منی سن

“Pardon me on account of this *tauḥīd* (profession of God’s unity),
“And by dint of this profession (instr. *tauḥīdīn* ?) do not dismiss me
(**ötürmä-gil*).”

B. PRONOUNS

Demonstratives: *bu*, acc. pl. *bularnī* (82r), intensified اوشبو (14, 142) “this here”; *ol*, gen. *anum*, plur. *alar*; *šul*.

C. VERBS

(a) Tenses

(1) Enclitic endings of the substantive verb: 1 s. *-äm*, 2 s. *-sän*, 1 pl. *-üz*; but alongside with سن مو سن *sän-mü* (?) *sän* “art thou?”, one finds سن پادشاه سین *sän padišah sin*. 3 p.s. *dur, durur*, negative دکول *dägül*.

(2) While the living southern dialects form two presents (WT : *baqiyor/baqar*, AT : *baxir/baxar*), the system of our text is eclectic. One interesting example is vaguely parallel to WT present i : شاه حیدرونک : قانی دوریر “the blood of Sh. H. remains (unavenged)” : *dura-yur* (?) (WT *duru-yor*). The AT form of present i is possibly represented by the bisyllabic دیر (6) *diyir* ; but دیرلر (21) is clearly vocalized *diyärlär*, which is present ii. Another form of present ii is represented by دیرم (145) *deräm*, دیرسین (159) *dersin*, as well as by ایدیر *aydir* (*äydür* ?) “he says”, *ögränür* “he learns”, *yapuşur* “he sticks” ; with interrogation نیدر *neydär* and *neylär* “quid facit”.

As the personal form of the 1 p.s. the alternative form *-män* (Çag.) is very frequent : *tökärmän*, *qılurman*, *yaturman* ; this ending has a variant *-mîn* سنی دیرمین *bir dermîn sâni* “I call thee unique”.

The negative form of 3 p.s. (present ii) is in *-maz*, e.g. ایمز *imâz* “is not” ; it can be intensified by the following *dägül* اولمز نهان *olmaz dukol* (66). For the 1 p.s. one has : *-mäzäm*, *-mänäm*, and *-män* : *bilmäzäm*, *qılmazam*, *etmänäm* (173), *baxmanam* (120), *eylämän* (65), *bilmän* (31, 83), *dinlämän*, *pozman*, *yuman* (205) “I do not wash”. Other persons are دیمزسن *demäzsän* “non dicis”, اولمزاوز *olmazuz* “non sumus”.

(3) Future in *-jaq* is very scarce اولاجق اوز **öläjäquz* (*sic*). Forms in *-isär* are not attested.

(4) Past tenses.

(a) Simple past in *-di* : اولدی *oldi* ; 1 p.s. ایتدوم (212) *ayittum*, باخدوم *baxtum*.

(b) Narrative past in *-miş* : چکمیشام (23) *çäkmişäm*, قویمشم *qoymişäm*, or اولیش من (216) *olmişmän*, ایلامیش *eylämiş*, *olmişdurur* (44, 74), ایتمیش اوز *etmişüz*.

(c) Perfect formed from the verbal adverb in *-üp* : کلوبدر *gälüptür* “he is come”, دیوبم *diyübäm* “I have said”.¹

The three past tenses are used rather indiscriminately : *tä-ki män gördüm* (157) “since I have seen” side by side with *tä äzäd olmişäm* (157) “since I have become free”, and also *tä görüpmän*

¹ This perfect (in-*üp*) is still in use in AT, but in this dialect the 1 p. is not used.

“ since I have seen ”. The use of *وارمیش کمی* (194) *varmîš-kîmî* “ as if it went ” is similar to the practice of WT.

(d) Imperfect : *دیردوم der-diim*, *بیلمز ایدوم bilmâz-idîim*.

(e) Pluperfect : *پیر بولمیشدی pîr bolmîšdî* “ he had become *pîr* ”.

(β) Compound Tenses

(f) Participle in *-ur/-ar* + the verb *olmax*: (137) *صورر اولسه sorar olsa* “ if he happens to ask ”; (83r) *قیلور اولدی qîlor awldî* “ he commenced doing ” (Russian : стал делать); (81) *سنی سیومن دیرلر کافر اولدی senî sîymen dîrlr kâfir awldî* “ the infidels commenced saying : I do not love thee ” (?).

(g) Verbal adverb in *-a* + the verb *görmäk*. *ترحم قیلمدی یالواره tarham qîlmdî yalwâre* (137) “ he had no pity for me and I was quick in entreating (him) ”; (96) *اوزونکی خاک ایده کور awzunî kî xâk îde kûr* (or *âyde kûr* ?) “ be quick in transforming thyself into dust (or : “ in calling thyself dust ” ?).

(γ) Moods

(a) Imperative 2 p.s. is often reinforced by the particle *gîl*: *ایلا کیل aylâ kîl* (176) *äylâ-gîl*; *دیما کیل demâ kîl* (76) *demâ-gîl*. In the verse *قویی قویمه قاپونکندن qûyî qûymeh qâpûnknnden* (214) the particle *gîl* is separated by other words from *qoyma* to which it belongs. 2 p.p. is in *un/in*: *بیلینک گالیین bilînk gâliîn* *کلونک klûnk* and, in stems ending in a vowel, in *-n/nîz*: *دینک den* “ say, you ”, *سانمنک sanman* or *سانمنکیز sanmanîz* (162) “ do not think, you ”. 3 p.s. is in *sun/siîn* *ساخلاسون saxlasun*, *نیلسون neylasûn* “ what should he do ? ”.

(b) Conditional: (aa) *ایلاسام aylâsâm* (28v) “ suppose I do ”; *قیلسنک نه اوله qîlsan nê ola* (172) “ suppose thou do . . . what will happen ”; *دیله سنک dîleh senk* (82) *ایسته سم îsteh sem*; (bb) *گور رسم görârsâm* (141) “ if I see, should I see ”; *اولار ایسنک awlar îsan* “ if thou hunt ”; *اولزایسه awlzaîseh* (26). *صورر سه sorar seh* (236) *دوترسه dutar seh*.

The personal ending of 2 p.s. of the conditional is in *-sâm*, but in a good many cases *-sân* is found in its place. In some instances the use of 2 p.s. indicative (*-sân*) is quite natural: *کرجه مندن در حجاب kercê menden dr hîjâb*.

اولورسن “although thou art hidden from me” (conditio realis), but the intention of using the conditional is quite obvious in هر نه قیلسن *hār-nā qīlsān* “whatever thou do” (66) “it is high time thou gladdenedst me”; درمان ایدرسن وقتی دور. This practice accounts also for the following verse نه یرده اکرسن بیترم *nā yerd’ākārsān bitārām, xandā čajīrsān yetārām* “wherever thou sow me I shall grow, whenever thou call me I shall join (thee)”.

(c) Optative. (aa) Non-contracted forms in *-a* + verbum substantivum are scarce: 1 p.s. قیلايم (184) *qīlayīm, گوریم göräyīm* (in 3 syllables), نیلیم (198) **neyliyīm* (AT. *neyniyīm*), نوله اییم **nola uymiyīm* “what if I do not sleep”; 2 p.s. صانه سین (113, 217) “thou wouldst think”, but اوله سن, probably *ola-sān* as in AT; 3 p.s. دکیم دکه (236) *tā-kīm dāgā, یازمایه (6) yazmāya*, but such forms as استر دنکلیه (130) and چیخیمه (156) suggest the reading *dinliyā* and, *čixmīyā* (*-äyā > iyā*). (bb) More common are the contracted forms الم (44), اولم (222), ایدم (78, 163), کوسترم داغیدم (193), قیلیم (83v), یرم (139), یتیم (82v), which probably are to be read: *alīm, olum, edīm, dağīdīm*, etc. In AT. contracted forms *baxīm, görüm, gätirīm* are usual alongside with forms in *-am*, e.g. *alīm/alam*, the difference between the two being difficult to define. (cc) Past tense: نولاییدی اولوییدی بیر اولوسواش (83r) *n’olaydī olaydī bir ulu savaš* “what would happen if a great fight were to happen”.

(d) Verbal adverb in *-a* + *bilmāk* to express possibility or + *bilmāmāk* to express impossibility (as in AT): کوره بیلمن (212) *göra-bilmān* “I cannot see”; باخه بیلمز (131) *baxa-bilmāz*.

(e) Verbal adverb in *-a* + *olmax*. Only one example: مینه دلدل *minä . . . olan*, apparently in the sense “constantly riding on D. and B.” This form is not recorded in Deny, § 820.

(δ) Impersonal Forms

(a) Infinitive in *māk/maj*: ایلمک (89), but *maj* is found even in soft stems: بیلمن *bilmāğ (bilmax)*. The infinitive is declinable

جمالین استمزدونک کورمکی (173), but in such cases the infinitive is usually transformed into an abstract noun in *lik/liğ*: ایتمکلکه (70), خوبلره باخمغلیغی .

(b) The form in *-dik* is chiefly used as a verbal noun: سیومادوکوندن (43) *sevmädügündän* (*sic*) “on account of his not having loved”; یوزینه غنچه قارشو کولدوکیچون **güldügi-i-çün* “because of his having smiled to someone-with-the-face-like-a-rose-bud”. [Not to be confused with ویرمدومچون = *çün vermädüm* “as I gave not”.]

(c) Participles: (aa) in *-an*: کلن دوران “the coming age”. It also has a quasi-passive sense (corresponding to *-dik* in WT): ویرن ایماتی سن آیرمه مندن (80r) “withdraw not from me the faith given (by thee)”. Cf. AT: *sän verän söz* “the word given by thee”.

(bb) In *-är*: سوده بنکزور بوئی کوردوم (159) “I saw in water a similar (*bänzär*) stature”; شاه قتیله محرم اولسون باش وجانندن کیچر (102) “let the one who gives up his existence become an intimate of God”. But چمنده کشت ایدر کوردوم حییی may be an asyndeton: “I saw the beloved: he is walking in a meadow.”

(cc) In *-miş*: کیشلردن اوز “we are of those who have come”. Sometimes it corresponds to the verbal adverb in *-üp*: یوزندن (76) نقاب المیش کیدر “having taken the veil off his face he goes.”

(dd) In *-dik*: چکدوکوم جفالر “the hardships undergone by me”; but in such cases it is often replaced by the participle in *-an*, the use of *-dik* being chiefly restricted to verbal nouns (v.s. b).

(ee) In *-äsi/ası*. This future participle is found only in the *ğazal* 251: *gäläsi-dur* “venturus est”, *tartılası-dur* “will be weighed”.

(e) *Verbal Adverbs* are Numerous and Various

(a) *ikän*: *var-ikän Allāh* (14a) “there being God”, *tökmäktä-ikän* “while being poured”.

(b) In *-injä*: اولینجه (211) *olmayınja* “so long as it is not”; کوندوزین تاشام اولنجه (227) “in the day-time until night falls”; دوینجه (136) **doyunja* “to satiety”.

(c) In *-a* (twice repeated): *sorä-sorä* (251) “by

dint of asking, or while asking”, يانه يانه (168) *yana-yana*. See also مينه اولن (*y, e*).

(d) In *-üp* (but باقيب (104) *baqīp*). Often it has the longer form *-üübän*: ايلوبن (p. 79) *eyliyüübän* “having done”, باخوبن (163) *baxubän* “having looked”. The form قورخوبنى (79v) seems to be faulty, the metre requiring *gorxubän*.

(e) In *-gač* (cf. Deny, p. 1000) is very common: کورکچ (145, 215) *görgäč* “as soon as I saw”, ايلاکچ (242) *äylägäč*. Often it has a longer form in *-gäč’in*: کورکچين *görgäč’in* (150, 164a, 211, 242).

(f) In *-äli*: کورالى (55, 188) *görali* “since I have seen”, عاشق اوللى (38) *olalı*. دوشلى آيرو (60) “since I have been separated”,

(h) In *-mädin*: کورمدين (139, 158, 215, 245) “without seeing, or having seen”, ایتمدین (158).

(i) Very common are adverbs derived from the participle in *-an*: کورنده (163) *görändä* “on seeing”, *bağrīm yaxanda* (163): “while my breast is on fire”; کورندن برلو *görändän bārlü* “since having seen”.

(k) Ditto from the verbal noun in *-dik*: تنده جان اولدوغجه (141) “as long as there is a soul in the body”; جان اولدوغنجه (236); کوردوگجه (139).

(ξ) Voices

(a) Most of the voices, passive, reciprocal, etc., are formed regularly.

(b) Causative: (aa) in *-dur*: *azdurur* (45) “makes go astray”; **yutturur* “he who makes swallow”. (bb) In *-t*: **axittum* “I made flow”; *erit-gil* “make thou melt!”; *görsät* (247) “show thou!” (as in AT), but also *gostär* (247) (as in WT), *yügurt, tükürtmä* (Mathnavi No. 3). (cc) In *-ar*: *cäzardä*. (dd) In *-güz*: *dirgüzdi* “he brought to life”.

(c) Necessitative is not attested, being replaced by constructions with *gäräk* “it is necessary, il faut”: *kīši öz kāmālīni bilmāğ gäräk* “a man must know his own perfection”. Often *gäräk* stands as a predicate corresponding to Arabic *lāzīm*: *sārv ayağīnā su gäräk dur* (88) “water is necessary to the foot of a cypress”; *māni bilmāğä dānālār gäräk dur* (46) “to know me sages are necessary”.

3. SYNTAX

In general, Turkish and Persian words and constructions are used indiscriminately: *dolu āz āb* (85); *māh-yüz* ("moon-faced"); *shāhī-ki* (Persian *yāy-i ishārat!*) *jahānum āfdāli-dur*.

Although Persian constructions with *idāfat* are common, the suffix of the *idāfat* is often left out: *miskīn khatā'ī khāstā-yā* (54r): "to the unfortunate, sick Kh." The pronoun *man* "I" is always felt as a Turkish word (= WT *ben*) and not as its Persian homonym: *mān gādā* (220) "I, the beggar", similarly to the 2 p.s. *sān māh-i tābān* (164) "thou, the resplendent moon". On the other hand Turkish words occur as the second part of an *idāfat* construction: *'aks-i sač* (225) "the reflection of (thy) tresses"; *qaşr-i bānz* (220): "the castle of thy face (lit. complexion)."

The "pronominal reminder" (Deny, § 1094) of a status constructus is often dropped: *yüzün şuhbätüdeki* (for *şuhbätündeki*) (f 65r). The 2 p.s. and 3 p.s. are sometimes confused (i.e. *n* for *n* and *n* for *n*): *vāşlın tābundan*, and *jamāli dilār sānün* (45v): "he longs for thy beauty." Inversion is common: *tā jüdā duşdı gönül qaşı kāmānumdan mānim* (f. 53r) "since (my) heart has been separated from my (beloved) whose-eyebrows-are-like-bows"; *tājālī-si zuhūr oldi imāmın*.

Turkish "composite epithets" (Deny, § 1090) are used profusely: *fülāklār onun-ün nuh-ayvān olan* (f. 11r). "He for whom the heavens are nine porticos."

Auxiliary verbs: *tajrīd ol* "renounce"; *fikri (sic) qılurman* (79); *qılurman bād-du'ālar*.

The Participle in -ār: *kimini qačar qačagan nar kimi* "(God creates) some who run as a swift stallion" (f. 81v); *bānzār boyı gördüm* (54r) "I saw a similar stature". But see 2, δ, (c), bb.

Relative sentences formed analytically: *gānjā bānzār eyläkim ol güldi mār üstünä* (65v) "it resembles a treasure, such as a snake sits upon"; *nāsnā-kim haqq-dan gülän dur andan ol-gül bī-günāh* (66v); *daurān-ki jänān davri-dur* (36v).

Asyndeta: *asilmış-dur hamīša gūşdü gördüm* (56v): "I saw (thy words) were ever attached to (my) ears (like ear-rings)"; *noļa hüsnün zakātī būsā versän, da'ifäm, dārdümändäm mān-gādāyā* (71r) "what if you gave me a kiss as a toll of your beauty (for) I am weak and sick"; *Nuşayri güldi yetmiş-iki pāra yına dirgüzdi jän verän 'Alī dur* (16r);

Anacolutha: *bu Xatā'inün yerin (*yeri) oldi gämindän tēq-i hijr*

(78r); and *yüzümi* (**yüzüm*) *dağ olmayınja bağrı qanlı* (68v) may be slips, but *üzaldän sevgümi* (**sevgüm*) *var-idi jändä* (79r) is supported by the metre (see above); *hıjr oxı bağrumı niçä yer yära söyläniz* (41r) "tell my beloved that the arrows of separation (have pierced) my breast in several places".

4. METRICS

I have systematically refrained from making any alterations in the text, however obvious the disturbances of the metre were and however easy the corrections would be. This can be done only after all the available manuscripts have been collated and the text finally established. Even so old a MS. as P 1 is full of mistakes against the metre. Partly it may be due to the fact that some poems were destined to be sung rather than recited, and partly to the characteristics of the Turkish language, which does not distinguish the length of the vowels. In fact, it is mostly the Arabic and Persian loan-words that give guidance in Turkish metrical poems.

Syllables ending in two consonants are to be read *alla Turca* in two syllables: *fıkr* > *fıkr* (79v), *shukr* > *shükür*.

Turkish *matres lectionis* (*alif*, *w*, *y*) are of course not considered as lengths, while Turkish vowels are lengthened *ad libitum*; for instance the word *kimini* (spelt *kīmīnī*) is to be scanned as ◡ — —: *yaratmadı*, (spelt *yārātmadı*) gives ◡ — — ◡; *dursa otursa* (spelt *dürsa ütürsa*) gives — — ◡ — ◡, the syllable *-sa* being long in the first case and short in the second.

The Persian system of super-long syllables (— ◡) is only partially observed even in Perso-Arabic words: *'ishq* giving — ◡, while in *sändän özgä dibärä hıch kim mänä yär olmasun* the word *hıch* counts only one long, similarly to the last syllable of *özgä*!

Apparently the poet was not shocked by such licences, and there is no ground for us to improve his original. In fact many verses merely follow the syllabic pattern of the metre, without much attention to the lengths. One case is particularly worth our attention: the striking appeal to the *ghāzīs* (No. 18) is an example of the purely syllabic Turkish system which Mehmed Emin-bey re-introduced into the Ottoman poetry under the name of *parmak-hisabı* ("the counting on fingers").¹ The pattern consists of sixteen syllables to a hemistich,

¹ See Minorsky, "Natsionalniya stihotvoreniya Eminbeya," in *Drevnosti vostoch-niya*, II/3 and III/1, Moscow, 1903. M. Emin-bey's *Türkchë-shi'irler* was published in Stambul in 1316/1899.

of which the last eight represent the burden. The first eight syllables come usually in groups of four.

Allāh Allāh | den ghāzīlār | ghāzīlar dīn-i Shāh mām-ām
Qarshu gālīm sījda qīlīm, etc.

Sometimes the combination is 3 + 2 + 3 or 2 + 3 + 3.

Uchmaghda | tūtī | qushiyām . . .

Nā yārd' | ākar-sān | bitārām || khanda | chaghīr san | yetārām

With regard to rhymes it can be remarked that Turkish words *yüz*, *söz*, and *duz* (No. 212) are supposed to rhyme, on the strength of their outward appearance in Arabic script!

5. GLOSSARY

In the following selection I have incorporated the less common words found in P 1. References are to the single poems as numbered in my own copy of the *divan*; references in brackets are to the pages of the same MS.

- | | |
|---|--|
| ایسم 98, 159, 167 <i>āpsām</i> "modest, silent" | اوکوش 102 <i>ögüşh</i> "numerous, many" |
| اخشم (72v) <i>axsham</i> "an evening" | اوکومدن (83v) <i>ögümdän</i> "from my front" |
| اردم (83r) <i>ārdām</i> "gift, talent". This archaic word occurs both in Mongolian (<i>erdem</i>) and in older Turkish texts, see Houtsma, <i>Glossar</i> , 26, <i>Ḍarīr's Life of the Prophet</i> , Chester Beatty Collection, No. 410, f. 78a | اولاشدیلر 252 <i>ulash-</i> "they met, joined" |
| اکمک (83r) <i>ākmāk</i> "bread" | اومرم (80r) <i>umarīm</i> "I expect" |
| انجاق (26r) <i>anjāq</i> "only" | ایتوردی 2 <i>itürdi</i> "he lost"; (82r) <i>itürür</i> "he loses" |
| اوخور 100 <i>oxur</i> cum dat. "he calls something"; اوخیدوم 159, 169 <i>oxīdum</i> (?) "I called" | ایدیر 65, 125, 134 <i>ayīdir</i> (or <i>äyīdir</i>) "he says"; ایتدوم 212 and ایتدیم 193, 212 "I said" |
| اوزه (66v) <i>üzä</i> "that he may pull out" | ایراغ (50r) <i>irāq</i> "far" |
| اوز (66v) <i>öz</i> "self" | ایسرادن برو 18 <i>*isra'adan-bārū</i> "from beyond, from the eve (?)" ; cf. AT <i>isra'a günī</i> "the day before yesterday" |
| اوش 99 <i>ush</i> ; اوشته 167 <i>ushtä</i> "here, voici" | ایکیت (83r) <i>igiti</i> "a champion" |
| اوصلندی (40r) <i>uslan-</i> "he came to his senses" | ایل (52r) <i>el</i> "a stranger" |
| | ایلتلر 251 <i>ilätärlär</i> "they push, hustle" |
| | ایله که 231 <i>elä-ki</i> "so that" |

- شيطانه 249 *uyma* "pander not to the devil"
- ایندی 204 *imdi* "now" (but 66 : *shimdi*)
- ایی (80r) *äyi* good
- بای (79r) *bay* "rich" ; cum dat. *hüsna bay* (55v) "rich in beauty"
- برو 131 *bärlü* 53 بری 18 "since"
- بنکرز 69 *bänzär* "he resembles"
- بوز ات *boz-at* "a grey horse"
- بولدی 59, 131, 243 *bolđi* "he became"
- بولدم 188, etc., *bulđum* "I found"
- بیر جوہ 128 *birjüvä* "together with"
- بیله 14a *birle* 190 بیرلن 241 ییلن 96 "with"
- بیلیجی 167 *biläji* "an expert"
- پاس (66v) *pas* "rust"
- پوزمن (64v) *pozman* "I do not break"
- تاپمیشدور 106 *tapmishdur* "he found"
- تاشینه (73v) cum acc. *kim eşikünü tašina* "whoever aims at, or visits your threshold", cf. *داشینہ*
- تانگری 65, 140 *tarri* "God" (AT *tarı*)
- تکی تک "like", *män-täk* (77v), *män-täki* 92 *sänün-täk* (76v), *dīvānā-däk* 90 = *dälü-daj* 113
- توخور 7 *toxur* (?) "he touches" (cf. *toqun-maq*, rather than *toq* "satiated" from which no verb is known)
- توش اولور (72r) *tüš olur* "happens"
- توکنور (39v) *tükänür* "it ends, it is exhausted"
- چاخر (42r) *chaxir* "wine"
- چری (82r) *chäri* "army"
- چرکنم (47v) *basha chizginim* "may I wind myself round (thy) head"
- چوره (61v) *chävra* "circumference"
- چی (67r) *chiy* "dew"
- چین (58r) *chin* "truth, true"
- خاچان (49v) *xachan* "when"
- خانسی (72v) *xansı* "which"
- خاندمه کیه (72v) *xandä-kim* "wherever"
- خانی (52v) *xanı* "where"
- خنجرو (76v) *xanjaru* "in what direction"
- دایو (55v) *dapu* "adoration"
- داخ (13v) *dax* "also"
- داشدی (32v) *dash-* "overflowed"
- داشینہ (39v) *dashina* cum dat. "may he aim at", cf. *tashina*
- دانکله (64r, 79v) *dan-la* "at dawn, on the morrow."
- دکمه (23v, 39r, 68v) *dägmä* "every, common"
- دوپتالو (52r, 69r) *dop-talu* (sic) "brimful"
- دوز (69r) *duz* "salt"
- دوز (69r) *düz* "a knee" (? for *diz*)
- دوز تیش (67r) *düzätmiş* "he arranged"
- تک دک *see*
- دورلو (45r) *dürlü* "various"
- دون (61r) *dün* "a night" : *dün-vä-gün* "day and night"
- دون (78v) *don* "clothes, garments, an avatar" (in the latter sense usual in the Ahl-i Ḥaqq hymns)
- دیشده (71v) *dişdä* (?) "in a dream" but (17v) *düşhdä*

دینکلن (25v) *dinlāmān* "I hear, I understand" ده بندم (47v) *dāynādīm* "I understood", دینه ده (73r) *dāynā-dā* "understand then"; cf. *chīx-da* (20r) "go out then"
 سایدی (45r) *sapdi* "pierced", WT *sapladi*
 ساجی *sachī* "a (wedding) present" ساغینا کیل (39v, 82v) *sağınma-gil* "believe not, expect not!", cf. Budagov, i, 688
 سواش (39r) *savash* "a fight"
 سوروب (48v) *sorup* (?) "having asked"
 سورولوب (62v, 162v) *sürülüp* "having crawled"
 سوکر 45 *sökär* "he splits, pierces"
 سوکو (79r) *sevgü* (?) "love"; سوکو یار (49r, 59v) *sevgü yār* "beloved friend"; سولو یاروم (76r) (* سوکو ?)
 سوندی (49v) *sun* "pour in!" سون (45r) "did not pour in" or *sönmädi* "did not go out, was not extinguished"
 سین (39v) *sīn* "a tomb"
 سینامادین (82r) *sīnamadīn* "with-out having tried, explored", Radloff, iv, 630
 سندی (79r) *sīndī* "scissors" الدن سندی دوشدی "the scissors fell from his hand", *Kāš.*, i, 350: *sīndu* "scissors" ?
 سورور (48v) *sorur* (?) "he inquires", AT *sorushur*
 صونکی (16r) "after" (perhaps *son* + expletive *ki* ?)
 عورت (82v) *avrāt* > *arvat* "a woman, a female"

قات *qat* "a side, a layer": *hār qatla* (51r) "in every way"; *bir qatla* (76v) "at once"; *qatında* (39r) "at his side, with him", *qatına* (read: *qatna*) (25v, 36r) "to his side, for him"
 قاتی (50r) *qatī* "strongly, very"
 قاچان (81v) *qačajan* "nimble, ready to flee", Deny, p. 569
 قارشنور (78v) cum acc. *qarshīnur* "he meets, affronts"
 قارقیش (79r) *qarqīsh* "a curse"
 قال ایوی (24r) *qal-eyi* "foundry, smelter"
 قامو (2r) *qamu* "all"
 قانده (26v) "where", cf. خانده (15v, 23r)
 قایرماز (63v) *qayīrmaz* "he does not make"
 قلاش (26v, 48r) *qallash* "a rogue"
 قلماش (26v) *qalmāsh* or *qulmāsh* "futile, unreasonable", said to be derived from Ar. *qul mā šī'ta*, Vullers, ii, 739, cf. Mathnavi, iv, 3810; vi, 1637
 قورخوتما (78r) *qorxutma* "frighten not!"
 قوشان (7r) *qoshan* "gird!"
 قولباش (39r), pronunciation and meaning doubtful: *qul-baš* "chief of slaves" or *qol-baš* "chief of a wing, detachment" ?
 قیر (33r) *qīyar* "he minces, kills", Budagov, ii, 105
 قیرغو (73r) *qīrgū* "a bird of prey (kestrel) ?"
 قیلو (62v) *qīlau* "sharp"

کپک (83v) *kāpāk* "bran"; probably *کمیک *kamik* "a bone"
یا . . . کر (48r) *gār . . . yā* "either . . . or"

کز *gāz* "a turn": *bir gāz* "once"
کسلو (82r): *yaratmadī tāng āldā beš barmagī, ki hār kāslū bilā yolīn varmagī* "did he not create five fingers to a narrow hand that (each) should know how to proceed with its own match (?)". Cf. Deny, § 537

کلبه (73v) *kūlbā* "a hut"
کنه (65v) *gānā* "again", also

نه (69r) *yinā*

کوده (76v) *gāvdā* "a body"
کوزگؤ (66v) *gözgü* "a mirror"

کوزلرم (76r) *gözläräm* "I shall look, wait for"

کونه (79r) *güvānmā cum dat.* "boast not"

کیرپوچ (39r) *kerpüch* "a brick"

کیرو دوران (39r) *gerü duran* "the one staying back"; کیرو قویان "the one putting away" (?)

کیمی (73r) *kimi* "like", but also

کیمی (76v) *kibi, gibi*

کی — expletive: *āzāldān sevgün-ki var idi jānda* "thy love was certainly in the heart" (spelt certainly), cf. also [22v]: *hijrūn-ki* (?) and [16r] *son-ki* (?)

لش (83r) *lāsh* "a carcass"
-lān (17v) "with": *sāniūlān*.

Also *-inān*: *şafā-inān* (13v)

مخنت (82r) "a coward"

موچک (81v) *müchäk* (?) "a little hair" (?), the word may refer to some insignificant, despicable utensil ("a whisk" ?)

مونجه (17r) *munja* "thus"

می (30r), an interrogative particle (very scarce)

نیچوک (22v, 35v) *nāchük* "how"

نیره (15v) *nāyrā* "whither"

نیشه (70r) *nā + ishā* "what for"

نیچون (22v) *nichün* "why"

نیجه (54r) *nājā* "how"

نیچه (52v, 66v) *nichchā* "how many"

هر (72r) "ever": *mān qapunda hār gadāy*, cf. 75r: *bu gün hār jān-fidā-yām*

یارا (76r) یاره (30v) یاره (32v) *yara* "a wound"

یارلینارم (66v) *yarlıjarım* "I pardon, I have mercy on"

یالغوز (83v) *yalguz* "alone"

یامان (80r) *yaman* "bad, evil"

یخدی (60v, 64r) *yixdi* "he smashed, crushed"

یخشه (25v) *yaxshī* "good, fine", AT *yaxchi*

ینکا (58r) *yana* "a side"

ینکلدن (59v, 69v) *yānıldān* (?): "again, anew" (hardly *yūnıldān* from *yūmil* "light, slight")

یوکورت (83r) *yügürt* "make leap up!"

یوکوش (19v, 56v, 75r) "many, much", cf. اوکوش, Radlov, iii, 447

بولوخدوم cum dat. (82v) *yoluxdum* "I met with"

یری (73v) *yeri* "it is a place for, it becomes", cf. *miskin yerā* (40r) "wretchedly" (?)

یری (83r) *yeri* "go, march", as in AT

یک or بیک (25v, 54r) *yeg* "better", also بکرک 82v *yegrāk*

IV. CONTENTS

The contents of the *divān* are threefold :—

- (1) poems with autobiographical hints ;
- (2) poems of religious character ;
- (3) ordinary lyrics in which pagan hedonism is often interwoven with Sufi ecstasy.

I. Autobiographical details, which form a particular feature of P 1, are sparse. The royal poet several times manifests his pride in his ancestors (Nos. 15, 195, 249), and speaks of the family home (*khānadān*) of Ardabil (Nos. 12, 168). The slogan of his personal action is Revenge : in No. 92 he says that the blood of his father is still unavenged, but from No. 15 it appears that the vendetta had been consummated. In the latter case Ismā'il can refer either to the death of the Shirvān-shāh Farrukh-Yasār in 1500, or, more probably, to the final conquest of Shirvān in the winter of 1509–1510. The early struggles with Shirvān and the Aq-qoyunlu Turcomans of Baghdad are reflected in the curious No. 103 (v.i.), in which Tabriz appears as the capital of Ismā'il and *mulk-i 'Ajam* is the designation of Persia.

The Mathnavi No. 3 is also curious for the political side of Ismā'il's activities. Most probably it was composed by Ismā'il in his early youth : its childish and comic braggadocio attests a complete lack of experience. Ismā'il discloses his plans of conquests, in which the Franks are included ; he gives his views on the inequality of men, on leadership, on valour, etc. (v.i.).

II. The *divān* opens with the usual praises of God, the Prophet, Ali, and the Imāms. Single poems are inspired with common feelings of a pious Muslim ; such is the vision of the Last Judgment (No. 204), which makes Khatā'i shudder at the thought of his future destiny. The interest of the collection centres, however, in the poems reflecting the intimate religious views of the author. The *divān* alone¹ gives a clue to the secret heresy of the early Safavids. These dynamic ideas, mystical and religious as they were on the surface, easily found their expression in direct action. They formed the political platform of the elements which constituted the spearhead of the movement.

In P 1 'Ali's panegyric precedes that of Muḥammad.² 'Ali is given the usual Shī'a titles of *Shāh* (Nos. 101, 195), *Shāh-i mardān*, *Baḥr-i*

¹ Hinz, *Aufstieg*, 16–19, 76–7, speaks briefly of the organization of the Ṣafavi order, but admits that the data of his sources are very meagre ("sehr spärlich"). The more important is Khatā'i's *divān* with its mass of authentic facts.

² In L and TZ the *divān* begins with a poem praising God for having created 'Ali.

haqīqat "the Sea of True Reality". He is proclaimed God (*Ḥaqq*), and those who refuse him this distinction are called unbelievers (No. 194). Muḥammad is only a Prophet, while 'Ali is a "Manifestation of God" (*mazhar-i Ḥaqq*) (ff. 2v, 5v), "God's light" (*nūr-i ilāhī*) (2v). In a long litany (11r), having the burden :

'*Alī dur*, '*Alī dur*, '*Alī dur*, '*Alī*
'*Alīyyun*, '*Azīmūn*, '*Shafī'un*, '*Walī*

'Ali is presented as the creator of Heaven and Earth.

"Do not call a man him who opens to the world the door of Islām, know him as God. . . ."

"He was God (*Ḥaqq*) and came down from Heaven to Earth, to show himself to men. . . ."

"His names are a thousand, his aspects (*ṣifāt*) a million, the day and the night revolve by his order. One of his names is 'Ali, but he is the Demiurge (*kardigār*). Heaven and Earth hold firm through his word." ¹

Ismā'īl is proud of his descent from 'Ali (through Ḥusayn, No. 101) and Fāṭima (No. 15). He believes in the reincarnation of the divine substance of 'Ali. He himself used to abide with God, but now he has appeared in the world (No. 237). Both the prophetic and imamite gifts are combined in his person (No. 15). He calls himself *Valī Shāh Ismā'īl* (corrected in the later versions into *va-tākin!*). He had already appeared in the world by order of 'Ali (No. 168). He is of the same essence as 'Ali and is composed of the latter's Mystery (No. 211). A man can be a manifestation of Godhead ; Ismā'īl is the Adam having put on new clothes. He has come as God's light, as the Seal of the Prophets, as a Perfect Guide (No. 249), as the guiding Imām (No. 249). He is *Agens Absolutus*, *Oculus Dei* (or even *Deus ipse!*), his body is God's house, he commands the Sun and the Moon (No. 204). With more circumlocution, he is "separate from what is not-God" (No. 249). The Ḥallājīan formula *anā'l-Ḥaqq* lives in his soul, he is Absolute Truth (or God) (No. 195).

Quite particularly Ismā'īl insists on the *ṣijda*, *ṣujūd* "obeisance, prostration", which his adherents owe to him (Nos. 18, 204, 249). This claim of divine rights was especially distasteful to the orthodox. We find the confirmation and criticism of this claim in a letter which 'Ubaydullāh-khān addressed to Shāh Tahmāsp in 936/1529. The Uzbek ruler presses the Shāh to answer his question : "Whom did

¹ However, 14r, 'Ali is called only "the shining moon of the Sun-Muḥammad".

(‘Ali) command : ‘ prostrate yourself before me ’ ? The Prophet says : ‘ were *siġda* permissible with regard to any one but God, I should have ordered the females to prostrate themselves before their husbands,’ whence it results that *siġda* is not permissible with regard to anyone but God and is a blasphemy’’; see *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, ed. Seddon, 231.

Alongside with this extravagance Ismā‘il humbly insists on his attachment to ‘Ali, and calls himself his Qanbar, slave and lowest menial (Nos. 15, 195). He is ready to sacrifice his soul for the Beloved, i.e. ‘Ali (Nos. 194, 239).

Ismā‘il addresses his supporters as a community of militant dervishes, whom he calls *ghāzī*, *ṣūfī*, *akhī* (No. 7). Very interesting are the general mystic terms which he uses : *ahl-i iqrār* “ Men of recognition ” (No. 204) and especially *ahl-i Haqq* “ Men of Truth, God’s men ” (No. 92). The former are spoken of as pantheists for whom Heaven and Earth are God. The latter term in the technical sense belongs to the adherents of a special sect which has incorporated Shah Ismā‘il among its saints, v.s., p. 1006a.

In No. 211 is found the well-known term *qizil-bash* “ Red Heads ”. Originally, this nickname must have been used by the opponents of the Safavids, but in due course was adopted by their adherents as a title of honour. No. 211 suggests that only those who can show the stigmas of their mortification can claim the name of Qizil-bash. The red caps introduced by Ismā‘il’s father are frequently referred to as *qizil tāj* (No. 7), *qirmizī tāj* (No. 18), *tāj-i sa‘ādat* (No. 193), *tāj-i dawlat* (No. 249). The banners of the Sufi army are also red (*qizil*) (No. 7). Of himself Ismā‘il speaks as a commander mounted on a sorrel, or grey, charger and leading an army of dervishes. The poem No. 18 is especially curious as a genuine hymn meant to raise the spirit of the followers. In it occurs the invocation *Allāh, Allāh* which was the particular *dhikr* of the Ṣafavī order.¹

The front of Ismā‘il’s religious action is turned against his opponents who are the enemies of ‘Ali and whom he intends to destroy. He calls them *giaours* (*gabr*), “ hypocrites ” (*munāfiq*), “ outsiders ” (*bīgāna*, No. 101, *kharārij*, Nos. 168, 211), or gives them the names of the Omayyads distasteful to the ‘Alids : Yazīd, Marvān.

III. Of the purely lyrical poetry two specimens will suffice. No. 30 lacks originality, but shows considerable skill. The images of No. 123, as if borrowed from the martyrdom of St. Sebastian, are

¹ *‘Ālam-ārā*, 489 : “ the fighters raised the shout *Allāh-Allāh*, which is the distinctive rallying cry (*shi‘ār*) of the *Qizil-bash*.”

unusual; but, as a counterpart, its technique is clumsy. For the rest, we shall only examine the resources of Khaṭā'ī's imagery.

China, etc. The *nom de plume* adopted by Shāh Ismā'īl admits of an easy calembour on *Khaṭā'ī*, "Sinner" (cf. *khaṭālū*, 71r), and *Khiṭā'ī* "Chinese" (71r). This further leads to puns on *Chīn* "China" and *chīn* "a fold, a curl" (32v, 33r, 67r), and *chīn* "true". "Since I have set my heart on the curls (*chīn*) (falling on) thy white face, the clime of (the white) Byzantines, Chīn and Khiṭā belong to Khaṭā'ī" (44v, cf. 48v, 67r). "It is true (*chīn*) that a good Chinaman (Khiṭā'ī) is faithful" (58r). To the same series of images belongs the presentation of the beloved as "a Khotan Turk", the fragrance of whose tresses has relegated ambergris to the navel (*nāfa*) of the desert (76v). Or, "tell that Tatar whose tresses are as fragrant as the navel (of the musk-deer, *nāfa*) that the gazelle of his eyes made Khaṭā'ī roam in the desert" (41r). References to musk, Khotan, etc., are numerous: "not every cane produces sugar, and the musk (*nāfa*) of the intoxicated Tatar is not found in the navel of every deer (*geyik*)" (21r). "Thy gazelle eyes take a levy from the kingdom of Khotan, and thy august locks tax the Emperor of China" (40v).

Games, etc. "Give up your life as an offering and go for a round of polo (*charkh*) with your head. Know your soul and then throw it into your dice-bowl" (66v, cf. 33r). Presents of gold and silver filled the skirts (of the Garden) which began to "scatter pearls (as) in a wedding parade (*majlis-i shābāsh*)" (37v). Drinking bouts are described con gusto: "When a reveller (*majlis-ahli*) drinks wine (*chakhīr*) holding the goblet in his hand, you would think it is a candle, for its top is aglow" (42r): "this goblet has the stature of a comely heart-ravisher" (74r).

Market-place. Even in the highest Persian lyrics (Ḥāfiẓ)¹ the terminology of trade is not considered unworthy of a poet's tongue. "I have entered the bazaar of Love and want a customer. I wish no profit or loss, I need some operations (*kirdār*)" (56r). "We are money experts (*sarrāf*), and, in this bazaar, look for real pearls; we accept no donkey-beads (*khar-mukhra*)" (59v). "You said: 'the price of one kiss of mine is one hundred lives,' I wish there were no other customer of this commodity (*matā'*) but myself."

Hunting and War. Hunting recollections naturally find numerous echoes: "The Almighty shaped the brow of thy beloved like a bow

¹ And even in the *Qor'ān*; see Torrey, *The commercial-theological terms in the Koran*. A dissertation, Leyden, 1892.

to hunt the gazelle of thy heart ” (30r). “ Thy pointed eye-lashes are arrows on the bent bow of thy eye-brows ” (79r, also 37v). Echoes of battles pervade many poems : arrows, shields, and armour, armies and drills form the background of a *ghazel* (45r) ; two kinds of arrows (*okh* and *khadang*) appear in one verse (79r), etc.

On the whole, the world in which the royal poet moves is purely traditional. He often refers to Qor'anic legends of Moses, Abraham, Jacob and Isaac, Jonah and Solomon (1v, 15v, 46b) ; allusions are found to Mansūr al-Ḥallāj (15v, 56r, 64r, 65v), Majnūn (35r), and, in a lesser ¹ degree, Iranian heroes (64r).

Original images are very scarce indeed. “ Think not that the ship on the sea is but a mirage, nor that this tearful eye is but a screen ” (55r) may be a reminiscence of Ismā'il's early years in Gilan. Speaking of the tresses of the beloved : “ I wonder why these ravens are perched on this rose ” (70v). “ The proverb says that dragons watch over treasures : such is thy beauty hidden in thy locks ” (31r), and further “ the treasure is one, why are the dragons two ” (78v). “ Thy mole is a midge on thy lip of honey ” (41v), or an “ Abyssinian traveller in Greece ” (65r). “ O listen to my words, for pearls suit the ears of a beauty ” (35r, also 46v). “ At night I wake and weep bitterly : (what you see) in the sky are my (open) eyes ” (28v, cf. 41r, 51r, 58v). “ (O God) every night you put to sleep every eye, and keep awake the eyes of the stars ” (1v).

A Turkish proverb is appositely quoted in the verse : “ The rival intrigues worry me not, for I have heard that he who digs a well falls himself into it ” (79r). Another popular saying ² must have inspired the hyperbole : “ Were the sea all ink,” it would be impossible to state the virtues of 'Alī (5v).

¹ Except in the final mathnavi (81r-83v).

² Cf. *Qor'an*, xxxi, 26.

V. TURKISH TEXT

Bib. Nat. supp. ture 1307

No. 7 (f. 7)

۱. او سلطان کرم صاحب هنر دور ولایت دور یقین نور بصر دور
 قوشانسه غازیلر سیف و سلاخی منافق جاننه خوف و خطر دور
 یزیدونک لشکری یوزمینک اولورسه ولایت لشکرندن بیر یتر دور
 اشارت قیلدو یچون بیر نظر شاه اوکنده کبر و مروان در بدر دور
 5. نشانی شول قهر طلعتلو شاهونک باشنده تاج و بیلینده کمر دور
 ولایت سرینه یول بولیانلر کوزی احمی و احمق بیخبر دور
 جهانده غازیلر میدانه گیرسه خوارچلر ایاغده پا و سر دور
 علی بحر حقیقت دور یقین بیل حیات جاودان محتر دور
 قیزیل علم قیزیل بیق قیزیل تاج کینسه غازیلر اولکون حذر دور
 10. معاوی لشکری بیر غازی کورسه قویون کیم قورت توخوراندن بتر دور
 نفس کوهر دور اخی بیر بیلر لر سوزی بیر سویلیس لر کچک ار دور
 12. خطائی شاه یولینده جان فدا دور چه جای ملک و مال و نسیم وزر دور

هر نظر... v. 4. بوشاه پر کرم صاحب نظر در v. 1. TZ No 24: v. 1
 قزل v. 9. جهانگیر v. 7. بیلین لر v. 6. کونش طلعتلو v. 5. شمر مروان
 The Ms. adds 3 verses: . اوئی یارادان لر (?) v. 11. قویون که قوردی کور v. 10
 (a) اولر که چهل تندر سر قدرت اوئی عارف بیلور اینجه خبر در

(6) بورومت یخوری ایردی زمینه
 (7) یزید زخم تیر و سیف و خنجر
 که هر بیر قازینک (ا) یور (بوز) نام و در
 باشند کیتیمی تیغ و تبر در

No 15 (f. 13v.)

۱. آدم شاه اسمعیل حقونک ستریم
 نام دور فاطمه اتام علی دور
 اتامونک قانینی الدوم یزیدن
 خضر زنده ایله عیسی مریم
 5. یزید و مشرک و ملحونی کورکیم
 نبوت منده دور ستر ولایت
 جرای تیغ ایله قیلدوم مسخر
 اولو بابا صفی اتام حیدر
 9. حسینیم یزید لحنتم وار
 بوجمله غازیلرونک سروریم
 اون ایکی امامونک من داخ پیریم
 یقین بیلکیل که نقد حیدریم
 زمانه اهلینونک اسکندریم
 منافق قبله سندن من بریم
 محمّد مصطفانونک پی رویم
 علی مرتضانونک قنبریم
 شجاعت اهلینونک حق جعفریم
 خطائی ام شاهونک بیر چاکریم

Variants - P², f. 34a, TZ, No 133, both closely related:
 v. 1. بو اون ایکی... من بریم v. 2. منم شاه... حقنک ستریم که مونجه غازیلرونک...
 v. 5. قیلدی مسخر... پیرویم v. 7. کورکیم TZ یزید ملحونی مشرکی طعن ایت P²
 v. 8. بو کون میدان ایچنده... علی ننگ چاکریم v. 9. اولی بابام TZ اولی بابام P²

Another similar poem is TZ, No 132 (cf. P² f. 33B):

آدم اسمعیل ابن حیدریم
 حسینیه مذهبیم من دین ایچنده
 منم غازیلرومه حرمت ایلنک
 منی اولاردن آرو صانکنر سز*
 منم هم پیر و هم سلطان عالم
 علی ننگ چاکری ننگ چاکریم
 مولائی اولاننک من رهبریم
 کونکل ایونده اولاننک پیریم
 ولیکن اولاننک من سروریم
 خطائی یم شاهنک بر کتیریم

* As in P². In TZ صانیور سز

۱. الله الله دينك غازيلر دينك غازيلر دينك شاه منم
 قارشو كلونك سجده قيلونك غازيلر دينك شاه منم
 اوچاغده طوطي قوشيم اغير لشكر ار باشيم
 غازيلر دينك شاه منم من صوفي لار يولداشيم
 نه بيرده اكرس بيترم خانده چاغيرس يترم
 غازيلر دينك شاه منم صوفيلر دينك دوترم
 منصور ايله دارده ايديم خليل ايله ناره ايديم
 غازيلر دينك شاه منم موسي ايله طورده ايديم
 5. ايسرادن* بربري كلونك نوروز ايدنك شاهه يتونك
 غازيلر دينك شاه منم هي غازيلر سجده قيلونك
 قورمزي تاجلو بوز اتلو اغير لشكري نسبتلو
 غازيلر دينك شاه منم يوسف پيغمبر صفتلو
 خطائي ام آل اتلويم سوزي شكون دانلويم
 غازيلر دينك شاه منم مرتضى على دانلويم

Marginal variant - v. 5 تانوكه *read: isra'adan

۱. يقين بيل كيم خدائي دور خطائي محمد مصطفاي دور خطائي
 صفي نسلي جنيد حيدر اوغلي علي مرتضائي دور خطائي
 حسن عشقينه ميدانه كيروپنور حسيي كريلائي دور خطائي
 علي زين العباد باقر و جعفر كاظم موسي رضائي دور خطائي
 5. محمد تقى دور علي نقى هم حسن عسكرك لقاى دور خطائي
 محمد مهدي صاحب زمانونك قاپوسنده كدائي دور خطائي
 منوم آدوم ولي شاه اسمعيل دور خطائي دور خطائي دور خطائي

امام زین العباد v.4 یقین بیلنک v.1
 ولیکن آدیله شاه... تخصی خطائی v.7
 ایشکنده کدائی v.6
 عسکر لوائی v.5

No 30 (f.19)

1. صامه کیم سن کیتدونک ای آی یوزلو جان قالدی منکا
 جان سنونکه کیتدی جسم ناتوان قالدی منکا
 تاکه سن کیتدونک یانومدن ای دلاراموم منوم
 حالیا وصلونک کونکولده پاسبان قالدی منکا
 کرچه کلزار جمالونک کیتدی قاشومدن منوم
 دله مهر قامتونک سرو روان قالدی منکا
 کر زبان اولدی کوزومدن اول پری پیکر صنم
 کولده مه اونوک یوزندن پر نشان قالدی منکا
 5. تاکه سندن آبرو دوشدی بوخطائی خسته دل
 بوی و موینک مشک ایله عنبر فشان قالدی منکا

کیتدنک (TZ) آه کیم سن کتدن P2 v.1
 TZ No 7: v.1 P2
 بوی موینک v.5
 اونوک v.4
 دلارام منم v.2

No 92 (f.36)

1. حقونک نسخه لرنده بیر بیان وار
 مقرر بیل که انکا قانه قان وار
 باشوم قربان یولینده مرشد حق
 نیچه یوز من تکلی جانہ قیان وار
 الونک وار بخشی قردونک سن یزیدی
 جهاندار اوله سن تاکیم جهان وار
 هنوز شاه حیدرونک قانی دوره بر
 یزیده بر داخلی کللی قران وار
 5. یقین اخلاص کرک عشقونک یولینده
 یری منکر لصین سندن کمان وار
 سنکا منکر دیرم کورمز سن انی
 کونشدرن اهل حق (فاتح) عیان وار
 طهارت سیز بو یوله کیتنک ایلی
 نیچه انکار ایدرسن سوزه قان وار

منوم حالوم شاهه عرض ایتک ایچون بیری باد صبا سحر زمان وار
 و خطائی دور بیری سحر بیر سفر قیل! که شهر اردبیل ده خاندان وار

Variants - TZ, No 78, L, both closely related (and possibly P2):

النک وررس (وارس) ۳. سنکای مرشد حف ۲. مقرر بیلونیز کیم قانه ۱.
 اهل حف فاتح (قانتنه) L ۶. ۵. حف بولنده کبت ای ... ۵. فانی قابدر ۴.
 ... شها عرض هر خطه سن وار ۸. بو یوله وارمغ اولوز رهناسز نیجه انکار اولاس ۷.
 TZ and L add two verses:
 اوکوش خوف ایلمن عشقنک بولنده رفیقم قازی! لردن (غازیلردن) کاروان وار
 موذن کجه کوندوز چاغور "حی" امام کلدی نهاره دور وان (اوان) وار

No 101 (f. 39)

۱. ازلدن شاه بیزیم سلطانومیز دور پیرمیز مرشدیمیز جانومیز دور
 شاه آدین دیوبن کردوک بو بوله حسینی اوز بو کون دور انومیز دور
 بیز امام قول لاری اوز صادقانه شهید لوق غازیلوق نشانومیز دور
 بولمیز اینجه دور اینجه دن اینجه بو بوله باش ویرمه ارکانومیز دور
 ۵. خطائی ام ازلدن سر حیدر مونی حق بیلیمین بیکنه من دور

Variants - P2, f. 19, TZ No 79: v. 2 ایچنه ۲: کز اوز شهادی میدان ایچنه ۲:

موالی در خطائی ۵. باش ویرن TZ باش ویرمه P2 ۴. کدروز! شاه دیوب P2
 Both Mss. omit v. 3 but add two verses.
 شها تحفه کتور دک بیز بوجانی شاهنک کفتی بیزیم ایمانیز دور
 دورویه (چورک P2) یوق دیروز بالانجه مرک که کیرچک (کرچک لر: TZ) صحبتی بهانیز دور

No 102 (f. 39)

۱. عشق میدانده هر کیم جان ایلمن باش اوینادور
 یار اوکنده غزه و کیرچوک ایله قاش اوینادور

شاه مردانونك بولنده چوخ كيشى وار دور ولى
 افرين اول باشه كيم مينك باشه بير باش اوينادور
 شاه قاتده محرم اولسون باش و جانندن كچر
 صانه كيل كيم يار اولنده دگمه قرّاش اوينادور
 چوخ كيشى سواش كونده جان و باشندن كچر
 انى باشنده كير و دورانده قولباش اوينادور
 5. اى خطائى غم يسه چون دشمنونك اولدى اوگوش
 مدعى دائم اير اقدن كيرپوچ و داش اوينادور

No 103 (f.39v)

1. بخداش قوروب او تورسه نكاروم فغان قوپار
 دورسه او تورسه قننه اخر زمان قوپار
 شروان خلایقى خاصو تبریزه داشینه
 ملك عم سورر كه قیامت خاچان قوپار
 يتدو كجه توكنور عربونك كوهى (كوتى؟) مسكنى
 بخداد ایچنده هر نيچه كيم ترگمان قوپار
 چيقسه سراى دن بو جهان وارى سين دوتر
 هر مرشد طریقت پیر و جوان قوپار
 5. كور میشدى تا خطانى ازدن يقين مونی
 نوحونك علامتى كلور آندن طوفان قوپار

No 123 (f.45)

1. اود يانر سينهنى ساپدى دورلو پيكان اوخلارونك
 سوپرينه سوندى كلدى فراوان اوخلارونك
 ياورو قوشلر دور صانه سين كيم اوچر فریاد ایلن
 چيخسه يادرن بس قیلور هر لحظه افغان اوخلارونك
 سينونك ميدانيدا صف چكلى قوشون باغلاى
 پادشاهوم سن بوپوردونك كيم وپور سان اوخلارونك
 اولورم بودر ایلن كيم كونطوم آهندن دكول
 بو جانومه قالدى جسمومه پیران اوخلارونك
 5. بو خطائى سينه سين قیلسنك مشبك نه عجب
 جبّه و جوشن سوكر پولاد [و] قالخان اوخلارونك

No. 168 (f. 57)

1. منم که بوزمانه شیمدی کلدوم روان اولدوم روانه شیمدی کلدوم
 عاشقم مست و حیران شاهه چون من محبم خاندانه شیمدی کلدوم
 شاهه مشتاق ایدیم قایتده باله شکر کیم آستانه شیمدی کلدوم
 یزید و مشتکونک کوکین کسرم چراغه یانه یانه شیمدی کلدوم
 5. ازلدن کلیمش شاه امری ایلمن ساغیناکیل جهاننه شیمدی کلدوم
 محبم اون ایکی شاهه ازلدن ولیکن بودکانه شیمدی کلدوم
 سلیمان خاتمی موسی عصاسی عالمه نوح طوفانه شیمدی کلدوم
 محمد معجزی شاه ذوالفقاری الوده دور نشانه شیمدی کلدوم
 9. خوارج اصلینی قومین جهاننه خطائی ام برانه (?) شیمدی کلدوم

برهانه شیمدی کلدوم v. قانی توکرم چراغم v. 4: No. 134, TZ, f. 34, P² Variants

No. 194 (f. 64)

1. ای منوم چوخ سیودوکوم عالمده سلطان دور بوکون
 یار اگر قبول ایدر جانومی قربان دور بوکون
 ای آدم سن عاقل ایستک دنیایه ویرمه کونکول
 دنیا یا ویرن کونکول بو بولده نادان دور بوکون
 علینی حق بیلمین لر کافر مطلق اولور
 دینی یوخ ایسانی یوخ اول نامسلمان دور بوکون
 بیر کونکول اولار ایستک یورنکار ویرمیش کیمی دور
 بیر کونکول یخر ایستک یوز مکه ویران دور بوکون
 5. ای خطائی جان غنیست دور اوزینی تانی کور
 دانکله کون اولاجق اوز جان تنده مهان دور بوکون

1. بو کون کلدوم جهانہ سرورم من یقین بیلونک کہ ابن حیدرم من
 فریدون خسرو و جمشید و ضحاک کہ ابن زال ہم اسکندرم من
 انا الحف سړی اوش کونکلو مده کیزلو کہ حق مطلقم حق سویلرم من
 موالی مذہبم شاہونک یولندہ "مسلمانم" دیانہ رہبرم من
 5. نشانوم دور منوم تاج سعادت سلیمان الینہ انکشترم من
 محمد نوردن دور علی سړدن حقیقت بحر ایچندہ کوہرم من
 7. خطائی ام شاہہ آسکلو قولم قاپونکہ برکینہ کترم من

محمد نورتنک علی سړدن 6v بار ماغذہ 5v 3v 3v 3v بین 1v 1v - Variants

No. 204 (f. 66v)

1. عین اللہم عین اللہم عین اللہ کل ایصدی حقی کور ای کور کمرہ
 منم اول فاعل مطلق کہ دیرلار منوم حکومده دور خرشید ایلمہ ماہ
 وجودوم بیت اللہ دور یقین بیل سجدوم سنکا دور شام و سحرکاه
 یقین بیل اهل اقرارونک یانندہ یر و کوک جملہ حق دور اولمہ کمرہ
 5. ولایت باغینونک بیر میوہ سی دور خاچان اوزہ اونی ہر دست کوتاہ
 دیرسن حقی حقہ وصل اینتک ایریشدی فی مقام میم اللہ
 علوقی پاک اوزہ سیران ایدورکہ خطائی او فردی بیر کجہ ناکاہ

1. کل اغاجدن بتدی کلدی شاهه بولدش اولمغه
 سر شاه ایدی ازلدن کلدی سرداش اولمغه
 *بورکی داغ اولمینه باغری فانلو لعل تک [بوزونکی Ms.]
 هیچ کیسنتک حدی بوخ دور کیم قیرل باش اولمغه
 کنت کنزونک سری دورنده محمد نوری دور
 قومزی تاج ایله کلدی عالمه فاش اولمغه
 4. اسمی اسمحیل دور اورا هم ذات امیر المؤمنین
 یوزینی کورکچ خوارج راضی دور داش اولمغه

No. 237 (f. 75)

1. من اول مست لقایم کلدیم ایدی همیشه با خدایم کلدیم ایدی
 منی ز زهار سن بیر غیر بیلمه همان اول دلرایم کلدیم ایدی
 جهان ایچنلا بیر عاقل منی بیل هم اول صدق و صفایم کلدیم ایدی
 منافق جاننه با ضرب شمشیر بو کون حقدن بلایم کلدیم ایدی
 5. محبوبنک حقیقه ای اهل دین لار بو کون بیر جان فدایم کلدیم ایدی
 ز غیر حق منی بیکنه * بیلکیل بحضرت اشنایم کلدیم ایدی
 منی بیلکیل همیشه و اصل حق ز غیر حق فدایم کلدیم ایدی
 مغارب اهلی چون اوج فلکدن بمعنی چون همایم کلدیم ایدی
 9. بوکوش جانلار ایچون جان اولمگامین خطائی حان فدایم کلدیم ایدی

Variants - TZ. No. 182, L, f. 71: v. 2 TZ بیلدنک v. 3. ای نفاق منی بیل v. 4. مقرب حقیقه TZ v. 8. بیلمیس P1 v. 6. ای اهل دل لار v. 5. خوارج حقیقه v. 4.
 معین بیر همایم کلدیم ایدی: then both TZ and L مقرب سن حقیقه L

1. تعالی الله کل ای کور کیم ینه نور خدا کلدی
 جمیع انبیا ختمی محمد مصطفی کلدی
 سوندی جان عاشقار اچلدی بخت صادقار
 او یاندی روح مؤمنلر صفا کلدی صفا کلدی
 زمینلرده زمانلرده صلاح الخیر مقدم دور
 فلک لردن ملک لردن هزاران مرجیا کلدی
 ایریشدی مرشد کامل خامو خلقه ایمان اولدی
 سوندی غازیلر جمله که ختم انبیا کلدی
 5. حقه مظهر دورور آدم سجود ایت اویم شیطانه
 که آدم دونینه کیروش خدا کلدی خدا کلدی
 فرشته ایندی کوکلردن بشارت اهل عرفانه
 خوارجه اجل ایندی یزیدلاره بلا کلدی
 ضلالت ایچره ظلمتدن ایتومیش دونک چراغونلی
 کوزونک اچ چیخ بو ظلمتدن که دین بذر ججا کلدی
 خلیل الله دونین کیمیش دیر یامیش آدی اسلحیل
 انکا قربان اولونک جانلر که الله دن نلا کلدی
 کوزل شاهوم قمر ماهوم مراد کاهوم کونکول خواهوم
 جمالی مظهر اللہوم کزین اولیا کلدی
 10. عزازیل ادلو شیطانونک تیر تقلیدینه اویم
 الین دوت حق یولین کورست امام رهنما کلدی
 جهانی سحر ایلی فرعون اوزینه تابع ایتمشدی
 اولاری یوتنجه موسی عصاسی اژدها کلدی
 بهادر غازیلر قویدی باشنده تاج دولت وار
 اولور مهدی زمان دوری جهان نور بقا کلدی
 کوزی صاد و دیلی طاها ینکافی قاف و القران
 قاشی فون و ساچی واللیل یوزی شمس الضحا کلدی
 امام شاه حیدر اوغلینه دل و جانلر رضا ویرکیل
 امام موم جعفر صادق علی موسی رضا کلدی
 15. خطائی خسته شول شاهونک جمالین وصلین ایستر
 روان ویر جان صاتون آکیل که علم جان برها کلدی

... امام اولدی v. 4 تعالی شانہ کور کیم ا. v. Marginal variants :

1. نر کلدی کلاسی دور مددهی جهان اهلی اولاسی دور مددهی
 کلور حکم آلهی اسرافیله اولو صوری اولاسی دور مددهی
 کنه کارلار کناهی صوروخ ایچون اولو دیوان دوراسی دور مددهی
 قورولور عدل ایچون نیران ترازو عصل لار تارتلاسی دور مددهی
 5. پیسیر لر قاچر امت لر نندن که نفسانفس اولاسی دور مددهی
 صوره صوره ایلتر لر صراطه نیچه لر سیر لاسی دور مددهی
 7. خطائی دردینه در مان بولنمز یا رب حالی نولاسی دور مددهی

MATHNAVĪ No3 (f.81)

1. بنام خداوند حتی کریم
 3. قیلن صصری همچو بادِ سموم
 7. کیمین عالم ایچره ایدن شهر بار
 8. کیمین اهل تخت و کیمین تاج ایدن
 12. کیمینی دوشر سد سکندر کیمی
 قامونی برادران بیر الله دور
 یاراتادی تنک الله بش بارماغی
 15. اگر جمله عالم برابر اوله
 حواردن اره فرق وار دور یقین
 کیشی اوز کمالینی بیلمخ کرک
 یا باندہ سیجان دیر که شرم ولی
 بولارنی سینا ما دین اینا نکاکیل
 20. که حق دور جهانده مددکار اولن
 قاموروم و چین و خراسان و شام
 اره لشکر ایلمن وار ان ارمیدور؟
 ارن لار باس لار سواشده اری
 کیم اول دور توانا بذات قدیم
 قیامت ییل ایلمن ایدن داشی موم
 کیمین گل قیلوبن کیمین ایدہ خار
 کیمینی یاریم پوله محتاج ایدن
 کیمینی، قاچر قاچغز نر کیمی
 جمیعونک ایشندن اول آگاه دور
 که هر کسلوبیله یولین وارماغی
 خاچان عالم ایشی میسر اوله
 برابر ایسر آسمان و زمین
 الندن کلور ایشی قیلنخ کرک
 برابر اولنده اینورور بولی
 مختت دیوارینه دایاناکیل
 قولنه یامان کونده مخخوار اولان
 آچر بیر بک ایکیت بولرنی تمام
 غنیمی باسن لار لشکر میدور؟
 چریده بک اولور بیر ار سروری

ندری به ببر و پلنک ایلم
 باشینه اوروب گزی دنک ایلم
 ساغینه گه باخوب دنک ایلم
 چه پروای توپ و تفنگ ایلم
 پس اندن هوای فنک ایلم
 انونکلن اوروشمافه تنک ایلم
 دونوب قاچه هاو ایله یولداشونکا
 کوریدی اوزیندن اویبکری اری
 نه تختین قویایدوم نه ملک و دیار
 یولوخدوم محنت له نا مردلره
 یل صف شکنی شیر نر قیمتی
 حکومت قیلور اولدی پیرزن منکا
 چخیدوم غنیم ایله من باشه باش
 دویه هرکیشی ار دمندن خیر
 دپیشدور بو سوزی ارنلریکی
 هر الیمک بیر اژدرنونک اغزنده دور
 اول الیمکی اغزندن آوب کوتور
 که کسسون اولومدن کلر دشمنوم
 قاچرسم اوزون عمرومی آز قیل
 یوزومه توکورتنه لشمه توکورت
 که رستم تنک اوله انونک هر بیری
 اولر کلسه یالخور انکا جنک ایلم
 نه آهنک بیله نه خود جمله سین
 یامیش دوتایم کیمک پر (بیر؟) جوال
 اولوم بیک بالانجیه غیرت سیزه
 که عورت دن السوگدورور مردایی
 داغیدوم اوکومدن صف و میمنه
 که ضرومه دورمز هر بر و پلنک
 که کر رستم اولسه قیلیم تارومار
 قاپونکده نیاز و مناجاتومی
 بحف علی امام تمام
 بو یولده فدا قیلدیلار اوزلرین
 قیلیج له ایدر لر زبون دشمنی

من اولم زهنک ایله جنک ایلم
 25 من اولم کیم اوغزشسه افراسیاب
 من اولم غنیمه واروب قورخوسیز
 یخم قلعه خیری مشت ایلم
 آوب روم و شامی مسخر قیلوب
 منوملر غنیم اولسه افراسیاب
 30 سواشده اگر کلسه ایتن باشونکا
 دریغا کر اولسیدی رسم ویری
 32 دریغا بودم اولسه اسفندیار
 37 دریغا که بند اولدوم عورت لره
 دریغا که قالمدی ار قیمتی
 غنیم رستم اولمز و بیچ منکا
 40 نولایدی اولایدی بیر اولوسواش
 بیله لار که دوغیش انادن بیرار
 ایکت اریک ایلم بیر الیمکی
 یمک الیمکی رابکان خانده دور
 بیری ازدهایی (!) ارادن کوتور
 45 آری قیلیموم ایتمی قیل منوم
 جدمنی اولمدن سرافراز قیل
 جدمنی الومده حسوده یوکورت
 غنیم ایله منکا اوتوز مینک اری
 چو میدان هواسنه آهنک ایلم
 50 کیچورم قیلچدن انونک جمله سین
 ارنلر چکرمی اولومدن ملال؟
 دیز کیمسه "ار دوره" حمیت سیزه
 منی قیلمه یولداش نامرد ایلم
 قیلیج اوزانکیل یتیم دشمنه
 55 هم اسفندیاره قیلیم بیری تنک
 منکا یاری ویرکیل سن ای شهریار
 آری قبول ایله حاجاتومی
 بحف رسولی که ایله کلام (9)
 اباخوان چویرمدیلر یوزلرین
 60 ونک صفنده قویارکیل منی

VI. ENGLISH TRANSLATION

No. 7

- That Sultan of generosity is the Master of Reason ; he is Sanctity and the light of the eyes.
 Should the ghāzīs put on their swords and arms, fear of danger will invade the soul of hypocrites.
 Let Yazīd's host be one hundred thousand, one man from the host of Sanctity is enough (to defeat them).
 Should the Shāh with a glance make a sign, before it all the giaours and Marvāns will be scattered.
5. The moon-faced Shāh can be recognized by the *tāj* on his head and the precious belt round his waist.
 The one who does not find the way to the Mystery of Sanctity is a blind man and an ignorant fool.
 When the ghāzīs enter the arena, the "outsiders" ¹ will be utterly (lit. head and foot) under their feet.
 Know for certain : 'Ali is the Sea of Truth (*haqīqat*), he is the eternal life of honour.
 The day the ghāzīs (preceded by) the red pennons and banners, don their red *tāj*, will be the day of warning.
10. Mo'āwiyā's host on seeing one ghāzī will grow worse than that sheep at which a wolf clutches (?).
 The akhīs who recognize the Pīr are true (?) pearls ; those whose word is but one are true men.
 In the path of the Shāh, Khatā'ī sacrifices his soul, to say nothing of the kingdom, property, gold, and silver.

No. 15

- My name is Shāh Ismā'il. I am God's mystery. I am the leader of all these ghāzīs.
 My mother is Fāṭima, my father is 'Ali ; and eke I am the Pīr of the Twelve Imāms.
 I have recovered my father's blood from Yazīd. Be sure that I am of Ḥaydarian ² essence.
 I am the living Khidr and Jesus, son of Mary. I am the Alexander of (my) contemporaries.
5. Look you, Yazīd, polytheist and the adept of the Accursed one, I am free from the Ka'ba of hypocrites.
 In me is Prophethood (and) the mystery of Holiness. I follow the path of Muḥammad Muṣṭafā.
 I have conquered the world at the point of (my) sword. I am the Qanbar of Murtaḍā 'Ali.
 My sire is Ṣafī, my father Ḥaydar. Truly I am the Ja'far of the audacious.

¹ Not "the Khārijites" in the technical sense.

² Referring both to his father Ḥaydar and to the Imām 'Ali (Ḥaydar).

9. I am a Ḥusaynid and have curses for Yazīd. I am Khatā'ī, a servant of the Shāh's.

No. 18

O, fighters in the path of God, say : “ *Allāh, Allāh!* I am the faith of the Shāh (i.e. 'Ali).

Come to meet (me), prostrate yourselves (*siġda*).¹ I am the faith of the Shāh.

In flying ² I am a parakeet, I am the leader of a mighty army, a companion of Sufis.

Wherever you sow me, I will grow ; whenever you call me, I will come up. I shall catch the Sufis by the hand.

5. I was on the gibbet with Manṣūr ; with Abraham in the fire, and with Moses on Sinai.

Come from the eve, celebrate the New Year, join the King.

With discernment come to know the King. O ghāzīs, prostrate yourselves.

I wear a red crown, my charger is grey, I (lead a) mighty army. I have the virtues of the Prophet Joseph (i.e. am beautiful).

9. I am Khatā'ī, my charger is sorrel ; my words are sweeter than sugar, I have the essence of Murtaḍā 'Ali. I am the faith of the Shāh.

No. 22

Know for certain that Khatā'ī is of divine nature, that he is related to Muḥammad Muṣṭafā ;

He is issued from Ṣafi, he is the scion of Junayd [and] Ḥaydar, he is related to 'Ali Murtaḍā.

For the love of Ḥasan he has entered the arena, (for) he is related to Ḥusayn of Kerbela.

[He possesses the qualities of the other Imāms.]

He is like a beggar at the gate of Mahdi, Master of the Time.

7. My name is Valī Shāh Ismā'il ; my surname is Khaṭā'ī.

No. 30

Do not think, o moon-faced one, that my soul remains to me after thou hast gone.

My soul has gone after you and (only) the impotent body remains to me.

Since thou hast quitted my side, o peace of my heart, only the (dream) of my joining you keeps watch over my heart.

Although the flower-garden of thy beauty has gone from my eyes, in my heart grows the stately poplar of thy sunny forms.

¹ Cf. Nos. 204, v. 3 and 249, v. 5.

² *U'amaqda* might also mean “ in Paradise ”.

5. Let that Peri-like idol be hidden from my looks, the moon in the sky is for me a symbol of (her) face.
From the moment this sick-hearted Khaṭā'ī became separated from thee, the musk of thy fragrant tresses has remained with me as a perfume-spreader.

No. 92

- There is a commandment in God's books : know for certain that it decrees blood for blood.
May my head be a sacrifice on the path of the Guide of Truth : there are many hundreds like me (ready to) destroy their lives. (O Khaṭā'ī) thou hast a hand : (how) thoroughly hast thou defeated Yazīd ; mayst thou be ruler of the world as long as the world exists.
The blood of Shāh Ḥaydar is still (unavenged) ; Yazīd still awaits a crushing defeat.
5. Truly, in the path of love sincerity is wanted.
Go away, thou accursed denier, there is a doubt in thee !
I call thee denier : thou dost not see that the Companions of Truth (*Ahl-i Haqq*) possess evidence clearer than the Sun.
Treading this path in the state of impurity, how canst thou deny the word : there is some blood unavenged.
Go, o zephyr, it is high time ¹ (for you) to represent to the Shāh in what state I am.
10. Rise and march, o Khaṭā'ī, make a journey ; for (thy) paternal home is in the town of Ardabil.

No. 101

- From Pre-Eternity the Shāh is our Sultan, our pīr and murshid, our soul.
Having pronounced the name of the Shāh we have walked along this path. We are Ḥusaynī, to-day is our period.
We are slaves of the Imāms, in all sincerity. Our token is to be martyrs and ghāzīs.
Our path is narrow, narrower than anything. This time our fundamental rule is to give our heads away.
5. I am Khaṭā'ī. From Pre-Eternity I am the Mystery of Ḥaydar. He who does not recognize him (Ḥaydar ?) as Truth (*Haqq*) is a stranger to us.

No. 102

- In the arena of love, he who risks (lit. plays) his head and life, sports wantonly with his eyes, eye-lashes, and eye-brows before the Beloved.

¹ Or : "go every moment."

On the path of the King of Men there are many people, but praise to the head which alone opposes a thousand heads!

Let him be an intimate friend of the Shāh, who is ready to part with his head and life.

Do not think that a common farrāsh would (be allowed) to flirt in the presence of the Beloved.

5. On the day of battle many give up their heads and lives; but should someone self-willed (*bashīnda*) stay behind, the *qulbash* (corporal ?) will make him play!

O Khaṭā'ī, do not grieve if all have become your enemies. A challenger always flings bricks and stones from afar (?).

No. 103

The meaning of this poem is dark. The author considers three eventualities: the Beauty (Shāh Ismā'il himself ?) either sits quietly, or rises for a moment, or comes out of the palace. The corresponding results grow more and more terrific. Verses 2 and 3 refer to Ismā'il's enemies. Should the people of Shirvān, responsible for the death of Ismā'il's grandfather and father, attack Tabriz, the Last Judgment is reserved for them. In Baghdad the Aq-qoyunlu hordes may be numerous, but Ismā'il will destroy this home of the Arabs. Shāh Ismā'il killed the Shirvānshāh Farrukh-yasār in 915/1509. After the expulsion of the Aq-qoyunlus 'Irāq was occupied in 913/1508. Consequently the unsettled situation which is reflected in the poem is earlier than 1508, and the poem must have been written by Ismā'il (born in 892/1487) when he was twenty years old, or even younger.

“Should my beauty sit (with crossed legs), groans will be roused (in the world); should he rise and sit down, the ordeal of the end of the world will burst out.

Let all the people of Shirvān rush to Tabriz, the Persian (*'Ajām*) kingdom will (but) ask: when is the Last Day to come?

As he arrives, the streets and homes of the Arabs will cease to exist, however many Turcomans may turn out from Baghdad.

If (my Beauty) comes out of the palace, the tomb (*sin*) will engulf the stock of the world¹ and a² Guide to the *tarīqat*, old and young (at the same time), will suddenly appear.

5. Since in Pre-Eternity Khaṭā'ī had contemplated the certainty of this issue, the signs of Noah have appeared in him and the Flood is to burst out.

¹ Or “he will seize whatever there is (*var-ī-sī*) in the world”.

² Reading: *bir*.

No. 123

Thy numerous arrows have pierced my breast, which is burning with fire.

They came in multitudes, thy arrows, they did not pour water (*sunmadī*) where water was needed (?)¹

You would think that fledgelings are flying with screams. Every moment, as thy arrows leave the bow, they make me groan.

On the square of my breast they have formed an army in fighting array. Thou art my king over the land (*yurt*) where thy arrows are arrayed in review.

5. I am dying of that pain, and the groans of my suffering have annihilated (?) my heart; thy flying arrows have not even left my soul in my body.²

No wonder you make a lattice of Khaṭā'ī's breast, for thy arrows pierce armour, coats of mail, and shields of steel.

No. 168

1. It is I who have come now for this epoch (var. "to this world").
I have set myself in motion and have entered a soul (manifested myself in a soul?).
2. I am intoxicated with love for the Shāh and dazzled by him.
As a lover I have come to (my) family (home).
3. By God, I was sorely longing for the Shāh! Thanks to God, I have now come to the sanctuary.
4. I shall uproot Yazīd and the heretics, a-burning I have come to the source of light.
5. By the Shāh's command I had come in Pre-Eternity. Do not be troubled, (for) now I have come (again).
6. From Pre-Eternity I am in love with the "Twelve Shāhs" (Imāms) but now I have come to this shop (i.e. this mundane world).
7. (Like?) Solomon's ring and the staff of Moses I have come to the world, as Noah (during) the Flood.
8. Muḥammad's miracles, the Shāh's (sword) Dhul-Fiḡār are signs in my hand. Here I have come.
9. I shall exterminate outsiders from the world. I am Khaṭā'ī, I have come to serve as a proof (of Truth).

No. 194

1. Lo, my truly Beloved is now Sultan in the world. If my friend accept my soul, to-day it is his sacrifice.

¹ Or "they did not become extinguished (*sōnmādi*) at the place of water" (i.e. in my blood?).

² It is possible that under the influence of Persian *māndan*, which means both "to remain" and "to leave", *qalmadī* is also used here in the sense "has not left". A parallel use of the verb *qalmaq* is found in an Ahl-i Ḥaqq hymn, see Minorsky, *Notes*, p. 170.

2. O man, if thou hast brains, give not thy heart to the world ; he who does so, shows his ignorance on (of ?) the path.
3. Those who do not recognize 'Ali as Truth (or " God ") are absolute unbelievers. They have no creed, no faith, and are not Muslims.
4. If you capture *one* heart, for you it will amount to a hundred. If you destroy one heart, one hundred Mekkas will lie in ruins.
5. O Khaṭā'ī, life is a boon (to profit by) : know thyself. To-morrow we shall die,¹ but to-day life is still a guest in your body.

No. 195

1. To-day I have come to the world as a Master. Know truly that I am Ḥaydar's son.
2. I am Farīdūn, Khosrau, Jamshīd, and Zohāk (!). I am Zāl's son (Rustam) and Alexander.
3. The mystery of *Anā'l-Ḥaqq* is hidden in this my heart. I am the Absolute Truth (or " God ") and what I say is Truth.
4. I belong to the religion of the " Adherents of the Valī (i.e. 'Ali) " and on the Shāh's path I am a guide to every one who says : " I am a Muslim."
5. My sign is the " Crown of Happiness ".² I am the signet-ring on Solomon's finger.
6. Muḥammad is made of light, 'Ali of Mystery. I am a pearl in the sea of Absolute Reality.
7. I am Khaṭā'ī, the Shāh's slave full of shortcomings. At thy gate I am the smallest and the last (servant).

No. 204

1. I am God's eye (or " God Himself " !) ; come now, o blind man gone astray, to behold Truth (God).
2. I am that Absolute Doer of whom they speak. Sun and Moon are in my power.
3. My being is God's House, know it for certain. Prostration before me is incumbent on thee,³ in the morn and even.
4. Know for certain, that with the People of Recognition (*ahl-i iqrār*) Heaven and Earth are all Truth. Do not stray !
5. The garden of Sanctity has produced a (or *one*) fruit. How can it be plucked by a short-handed one ?
6. If you wish to join Truth to Truth, (here is) God who has reached the stage of Mīm.⁴
7. The one of pure connections considers his own person. Suddenly⁵ Khaṭā'ī has come by a treasure.

¹ Read : *ōlā-jaq-uz*, without vocalic harmony. *Alif* is only a *mater lectionis*.

² Apparently the head-gear (*tāj-i Ḥaydari*) which Ismā'il's father introduced for his adherents (the *Qizil-bash* " Red heads ").

³ This is the only possible interpretation of : " my *sujūd* is for thee," cf. No. 18, v. 2.

⁴ i.e. " if you wish to connect this manifestation of God with its origin ". . . . I do not know what *maqām-i mīm* means. Perhaps " the letter *m* of *bism(illāh)* ".

⁵ i.e. by means of *Γνώθη σεαυρόν*.

No. 211

A flower has blossomed on the tree, and is now come to be a companion to the Shāh.

In Pre-Eternity it was the Mystery of the Shāh, and now it has come to be a companion of his Mystery.

No one can become a Qizil-bash, until his heart (**yūraqi* instead of *yūzūmi*) is a-burning and his breast a-bleeding like a ruby.

In the time of the mystery of *kuntu kanzan*¹ he (was) the Light of Muḥammad, and now he has manifested himself to the world crowned with a red crown.

5. His name is Ismā'īl, he is homoousian with the Prince of the Faithful ('Alī); on seeing him the outsiders would prefer to turn to stone.

No. 237

1. I am the one intoxicated with beauty who has come to-day.
I am always with God, (but) to-day I have come (here).

2. Beware, do not take me for a stranger. I am that very Ravisher of hearts (whom you know).

3. In (this) world, recognize me, o Ignoramus, (for) I am that Veracity and Purity (of which you have heard).

4. To-day I am the God-sent calamity to smite with a sword the soul of the hypocrite.

5. O people of (the true) religion, on behalf of the lover I sacrifice my soul.

6. The outsider considered me as non-Truth, but I am acquainted with the King.

7. Know that I am constantly joined to Truth and separate from non-Truth.

8. From the highest point of the sky I have come as (lit. "with the meaning of") a *humāy*² for the Mystics.³

9. I have come to suffer death in my soul on behalf of all souls.
I am Khaṭā'ī who offers his soul as a sacrifice.

No. 249

1. By the Lord! Come and behold: God's light has reappeared;
Muḥammad Muṣṭafa, the Seal of the Prophets has come!

2. The hearts of the lovers are gladdened, the luck of the faithful is revealed, the spirit of the believers is awake, Purity has come!

¹ i.e. in Pre-Eternity when God said: *Kuntu kanzan makhfiyyan wa-aḥbabbtu an w'rafa*.

² He upon whose head falls the shadow of the wings of a *humāy* is bound to become a king.

³ Reading: *ma'ārif* instead of *maḡhārib* ("the Wests" ?); cf. No. 249, v. 6.

3. For (every) land and (every) period, this is the blessed Weal of the Advent. From the heavens, from the angels thousands of welcomes reach (the ear).
4. The Perfect Guide has arrived. Faith has been (brought) to all. All the Ghāzīs are full of joy at the coming of the Seal of the Prophets.
5. A man (has become) a manifestation of Truth. Prostrate thyself! Pander not to Satan! Adam has put on new clothes, God has come.
6. An angel has descended from the skies. Good tidings to the men of mystic knowledge! Death has descended upon the outsiders, calamity has befallen the Yazīds.
7. Darkness was the cause that, amidst errings, thou hadst lost the lamp. Open thy eyes, come out of Darkness, for Faith has appeared like a full moon in the dark night.
8. God's Friend (Abraham) has put on a (new) garment and come to life. His name is Ismā'īl. Let souls be his sacrifice, for an appeal has come from God.
9. Oh my beautiful Shāh, my Moon, the Fulfilment of my desires, the Beloved of my heart, o Thou, in whose beauty God manifests himself, the Elect of the Saints has come.
10. Do not succumb to the arrow of hypocrisy of the Demon called 'Azāzīl. The Guiding Imām has come! Seize his hand, show him the way.
11. The Pharaoh had subjugated the world by magic; but the staff of Moses has become a dragon to swallow up.
12. The heroic ghāzīs have come forth with "crowns of happiness" ¹ on their heads. The Mahdi's period has begun. The light of eternal life has dawned (upon) the world.
13. His eye is the letter *šād*, his tongue is *Tā-hā*, his cheeks are *Qāf* and *al-Qor'an*, his eye-brows are the letter *nūn*, his hair reminds one of *al-Layl*, his face is "the Sun in its splendour". ²
14. With all your heart, accept the scion of Imām Shāh Ḥaydar. My Imāms Ja'far-i Šādiq and 'Ali Mūsa Riḍā have come!
15. The (heart)-worn Khaṭā'i longs for the beauty of that Shāh and for the union with him. Surrender thy (old) soul and (thereby) acquire a new one, for a science has appeared which is worth the soul.

No. 251

1. Whatever happened (was) bound to happen, oh for assistance!
The people of this world are bound to die, oh for aid!
2. God's command comes to Isrāfil, and his great trumpet shall sound.
3. A great tribunal shall sit to examine the sins of the sinners.

¹ V.s., p. 1027a.

² The references are to the *sūras* of the *Qor'an*.

4. For Justice's sake Fire¹ and Scales shall be set up and actions weighed.
5. The Prophets will flee from their communities, for the souls shall be tried one by one.
6. While being interrogated, they shall be pushed towards the (bridge of) Širāt, and oh how many will slip!
7. All these unfortunate sons of Adam shall fill the Seven Hells.
8. No remedy can be found to Khaṭā'ī's pain, o Lord; what shall be his state (on that day) ?

Mathnavi No. 3 (*mutaqārib*)

The Mathnavi No. 3 holds a special place by itself among Khaṭā'ī's poems. Its poetical merits are nil; but the leisurely epic metre and the unconventional flow of oratory gave the poet much more freedom than the shorter poems on religious and love subjects. Both in vocabulary and grammar it is original.

The Mathnavi opens with a praise to God in which stress is laid on the diversity of God's creatures (vv. 1-12). Inequality is the law of the world; but claims to superiority must be examined (vv. 13-19). God is the Helper and will assist the brave prince (*bāg-igūt*), leading his "lads" (*ārān*) to conquests. Ismā'īl challenges the heroes of the *Shāh-nāma* and complains of the absence of a worthy opponent (vv. 20-41). No success is to be achieved without struggle (vv. 42-4). God's assistance is invoked in a coming strife (vv. 45-50). Brave men are not afraid of death (vv. 51-5). The Mathnavi ends with a final appeal to God (vv. 56-60).²

1. In the name of God, Living and Bountiful, for His is might and His nature is old.
2. It is He who exalts the "Nine Heavens"³ and purifies the face of the earth.
3. He produces the storm like unto Simoom; by the wind of the Day of Resurrection he softens stones to wax.
4. He makes some superior to others, some is suspense (?) and some lowly;
5. Some like Solomon, and some like ants, some vilified and some strong.
6. He makes some superior to the whole world, and some a refuge to men.

¹ *Nirān*, perhaps **mīzān* "a balance".

² It is curious to compare this Mathnavi with Sultan Selim's poems Nos. 189 and 204 in which he gloats over his victories in Persia and Egypt, doing this in a matter of fact way without any tinge of mysticism.

³ Read: *āsmānī* instead of *asāmī*.

7. He makes some lords of the world, and while He treats some as flowers, he creates others as thorns.
8. He makes some (sit on) the throne and (wear) a crown ; he makes others needy of half-a-farthing.
9. He makes some awful like Rustam, and others less than a small hair (*mūchak* ?) ;
10. Some endowed with courage (lit. *liver*), others without courage and carrion-like.
11. To some He gives swords and good horses, while He checkmates others on their carpet.
12. He creates some (as if) to stand (lit. *fall*) as Alexander's wall, and some as if to flee like deserters (or "like swift stallions" ?).
13. God is the Creator of all, He is cognizant of everybody's affairs.
14. Has He not created five fingers to a narrow hand so that each of them (?) should know its way ?
15. Were all the world equal, how would the affairs of the world be successful ?
16. Surely there is a difference between slave-girls and a man ; Heaven and Earth are not equal.
17. A man must know his perfection and do what work he can do.
18. A mouse in the desert says : " I am wicked," but when it is confronted (with an enemy) it loses its way.
19. Do not believe such (pretensions) before you have scanned them, do not lean on the wall of an unmanly person.
20. God (*Hagg*) is the Helper in this world ; in bad days he shares the sorrow of his slaves.
21. A brave beg (*bāg-igiti*) will conquer all lands : all Asia Minor (*Rūm*), China, Khorasan, and Syria.
22. Is he a man, he who marches with an army against a (single) man ? Is an army (necessary) to crush an enemy ?
23. In a fight, lads (*ārān*) would crush one single man, but in an army the beg becomes the leader of men (*ār-sārvāri*).
24. I am he ¹ who will fight a crocodile, and wage war with the tiger and the panther.
25. I am such that should I meet Afrāsiyāb, I will smite his head with my mace and stun him.
26. I am he who will march without fear against the foe ; do not be afraid that on looking (at him) I shall show hesitancy.
27. I shall smash the fortress of Khaybar with my fist ; shall I (ever) fear cannon and guns ?
28. I shall conquer Asia Minor and Syria, and then think of the Franks.
29. Should Afrāsiyāb be my foe, I shall take it for a dishonour to come to blows with him.
30. Should something happen to you in a fight, turn not your back, run not with shouts towards your companion.

¹ Hardly : *mān olām* " may I die, by my death ".

31. A pity! Would that there were a suitable occasion, that (the foe) should see a man better than himself!
32. A pity! Would that Isfandiyār existed now, that I might spare neither his throne, nor his kingdom, nor his country.
33. A pity! Would that Afrāsiyāb were there, that I might answer (his challenge) with my sword.
34. A pity! Would that Gīv lived nowadays, that I might appear to him like a male *dāv*.
35. A pity! Would that Zāl were alive now, that he might see what a struggle is like.
36. A pity! Would that the hero Sohrāb were now in existence! He would not be striking with his sword in his hand.
37. A pity that (on the battlefield) I am tied to females, that I encounter but effeminates and cowards.
38. A pity, that there is no longer a price for a man, for a hero breaking through the enemy line, for a male lion.
39. Neither Rustam nor Bījan are my opponents, a female wanted (?) to command me.
40. I wish there were a great fight that I might encounter the foe face to face.
41. They would know that a *Man* has been born of a mother; every one would hear news of his talents (*ārdām*).¹
42. "A hero eats (his) bread in a manly way." This word was said by the best of the braves (or "by one of the braves").
43. How can one eat bread without labour; every piece of bread is in a dragon's mouth.
44. Go and annihilate the dragon, snatch that bread from his mouth.
45. O God, sharpen my sword that it should smite the foe seeking my life.
46. Exalt my sire ² through my hand, let my sire ² run at the envious (enemy). Let not the foe spit into my face, but rather at my dead body.
48. Let thirty thousand men be my enemies, and each one of them be Rustam-like.
49. When I make up my mind to take the field, let them come and let me fight them alone.
50. Let me smite them all with the sword so that they should forget their designs and their attack.
51. Are the braves annoyed by death? Shall I keep (this) bag of ungnawed bones?
52. Nobody says to the one devoid of energy: "This is a *Man*"; better is death for a liar lacking ardour.
53. Do not associate me with cowards, who, in the eyes of a *Man*, are less than females.

¹ Instead of *ār-dāmindān* "from the mouth of a man", it is tempting to read: *ārdām-indān*.

² Reading: *jadd*. Otherwise *jidd* would mean "my endeavour".

54. Lengthen my sword that I reach the enemy and scatter before me his array and his right flank.
55. Even for an Isfandiyār I shall make the field too narrow; no lion or panther will stand my blows.
56. O Lord, show me Thy friendliness and, though the foe be a Rustam, I will smash him.
57. O God, accept my prayer for my needs, my supplication at Thy gate, and my appeal to Thee,
58. Through the merits of my Prophet who is the Miracle of Speech, (?) and of 'Ali, who is the Perfect Imām.
59. (They?) did not turn away their faces, but on this path made sacrifice of their beings.
60. Pray, let me work havoc in (the) ranks (of the foe), for only by the sword can the foe be abashed.

I dedicate this article to Seyyid Hasan Taqizadeh in recollection of the sunny days of Tabriz.

CAMBRIDGE,
Sept., 1941.

ADDITION

ad p. 1007a. The question of the language used by Shāh Ismā'īl is not identical with that of his "race" or "nationality". His ancestry was mixed: one of his grandmothers was a Greek princess of Trebizond. Hinz, *Aufstieg*, 74, comes to the conclusion that the blood in his veins was chiefly non-Turkish. Already his son Shāh Tahmāsp began to get rid of his Turcoman praetorians.